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ABSTRACT

This document presents the proceedings of the Columbus, Ohio conference on school desegregation. Among the topics that are covered in this conference are the following: (1) the development of a state formula to assist local school districts in Ohio, (2) an overview (ranging from Plessy to Penick) of the legal aspect of school desegregation, (3) violence in the schools viewed as a byproduct of school desegregation, (4) the importance of community involvement in understanding school desegregation, (5) the development of desegregation support groups in the school, (6) the role of the church in school desegregation, (7) staff development and inservice training for desegregated settings, (8) the impact of desegregation upon quality education, (9) the mental health of teachers in desegregated settings and (10) communication in a desegregated setting in terms of black dialect vs. standard English. (Author/AM)

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Desegregation: Its Impact on Quality Education

An NEA/OEA Seminar funded by the
NEA Teacher Rights Division
Washington, D. C.

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SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

National Education Association, Teacher Rights Division - The NEA Teacher Rights Division has funded six seminars in concert with the Ohio Education Association which speak to human and civil rights during this 1976-1977 school year.

Ohio Education Association, Instruction and Professional Development Division - The OEA-IPD Division which is responsible for working with OEA Committees and Commissions has submitted several proposals to the U.S. Office of Education, numerous Foundations, and to the National Education Association. It won an NEA Award in 1976 for the Best Human Relations Program Among The NEA State Affiliates.

Central Ohio Teachers Association, Human Relations Committee - The COTA, as a District Association within the United Teaching Profession, has been actively concerned with addressing the needs of its some 12,500 members. Columbus City and Springfield City, both within the COTA District, are deeply involved with the implementation of desegregation plans that concern pupil assignment policies. Through the efforts of its Executive Board and Human Relations Committee, it continues to provide information that will assist its membership in understanding the many facets of school desegregation and the need for nonviolence in the schools.

Columbus Education Association, Desegregation Task Force - The CEA through its Human Relations Committee won the 1975 Rosena J. Willis Award for the best Human Relations Program of a Local Affiliate. This national award is presented annually to the State and Local Affiliate having the best human relations program throughout the UTP. In 1974, the award was won by a Dayton, Ohio Elementary School. Although some may feel it premature, CEA feels that the efforts of its Task Force on School Desegregation have been so far reaching in scope, that the NEA Award might well come back to Ohio in 1977-78.

Columbus Urban League - The work that has been done and/or initiated by the Columbus Urban League are almost legend. Its involvement with Projects UNITE and REUNITE are well known as is the manifest desire of its Education Committee to keep the community actively involved in what is going on in the schools. As an advocate of community involvement and self-help it has initiated any number of programs which have assisted both minority and majority young people to assume meaningful roles in the Columbus community. Through its coalitions with numerous organizations it continues to be involved and actively concerned in what is best for Columbus.

Ohio Civil Rights Commission, Department of Education and Community Relations - The Commission, aside from an agency of the State with responsibilities for investigation and enforcement, has worked with numerous educational agencies at both the local and higher education levels. The OCRC's Department was one of the first organizations with whom the OEA sponsored its first Affirmative Action Conference in 1974. Since that time, it has worked cooperatively to insure that information, technical assistance, films, and consultants remain available to all organizations within the State of Ohio who might desire services in a variety of areas.

FOREWORD

The history of school desegregation in the United States is inextricably tied to the quest for human dignity and equal opportunity which was the civil rights thrust of the sixties. As we pass through the seventies, through our bicentennial, and now look to the challenge of the Third Century, we discover that many tasks remain unfinished. The Equal Rights Amendment still needs to be passed by several states before it can become the law of the land -- a law which many contend is not needed as long as Fourteenth Amendment concerns can be brought before the courts for consideration. Yet there seems that the rights and privileges that necessarily accrue to American citizens by benefit of the U.S. Constitution are not being granted by those who have the power to grant them.

The serious scholar of school desegregation and even the most casual member of the body politic cannot escape the knowledge that change does not come easy and that morality is deeply enmeshed in the societal fabric of racism, sexism, and elitism. Hope, however, springs eternal for as many schools become desegregated, the opponents of change are finding their efforts less and less rewarding and effective. This is not to suggest that racists and radicals have ceased to exist but rather that their existence is becoming less tolerable with each coming day. School desegregation, forced by the courts when school districts fail to act affirmatively to consummate their duty, is providing a chance, an opportunity for both young and old alike to examine the beliefs and attitudes that have governed their behavior and their perception of those things of which they had no knowledge.

In a brochure entitled "A Letter To Parents About School Desegregation" the late Drs. Glatt and Gaines stated:

"What can you as a parent do to make your child's move into a racially mixed school an easier one? No pat answers are available, but suggestions from years of experiences working with children, teachers, and parents can be passed along to you as the concluding part of this letter:

- . Remember that any fears or apprehensions that you have about your child's future differ very little from the fears that other parents have about their children. The experience of being assigned to a desegregated school is a new one for all of the children and parents involved, and the only genuine fear that any of us face is that one mentioned by Franklin Roosevelt years ago -- fear itself.*
- . Use the desegregation process as an opportunity to (get to) know your own child better. Encourage conversation with him or her. Arrange your time whenever possible to participate in some of the school's activities with your child so that you have a better basis for talking.*
- . Examine the stereotypes and prejudices that you hold about other people. Help your child and yourself not to let those blind either of you to the persons who do not fit your preconceived notions.*
- . Remember that although much of what happens to your child in school is beyond your control and influence; what you have taught your child will be the most important determinant of what really happens.*

- . Listen to what you say to friends and neighbors about the desegregation of schools. Some of the most serious problems in other communities have come as a result of informal conversations turning sensible human beings into insensitive mobs. Especially be careful not to spread rumors.
- . Listen to what your child is saying to you and to playmates about other children.
- . Get to know the parents of your child's classmates -- in addition to only school functions.
- . Finally, if your child develops a friendship across racial lines, let the friendship have a chance to develop and grow. Please remember, much of the social turmoil that characterizes our nation and our world is a direct result of lack of friendship. Give your child and others the opportunity to build a better world than we have provided for them.

These are only a few suggestions. Your own wisdom will lead to others. And . . . our suggestions are not foolproof; however, (we believe) they are sound. Even though the range and variety of experiences (that) we have enjoyed working with people have been exciting and most interesting, we have no glib answers for all problems in human relations. We are (afterall) college teachers who may be working with your child in a few years. We want them to be better students than we were. You can help. Our plea and our prayer is that you will."

Sincerely.

Dr. Charles A. Glatt and
Dr. William A. Gaines

As you participate in this Conference on School Desegregation, it will be our plea and our prayer -- also, that you will help to pass on that which you see, hear, or learn during the workshop discussion sessions. If you don't understand, please feel free to ask; if you don't agree, please be broad-minded enough to accept it as another point of view -- no more right or wrong than your own; and finally, when all is said and done, commit yourself to continue the quest for a better world -- for your child and perhaps for other children.

Afterall, isn't that what it's all about?

Excerpts of the Letter To Parents About School Desegregation, were reprinted with the permission of the Foundation For Equality In Education, Columbus, Ohio 43216. Copies of the full "letter" and other articles copyrighted by the Foundation may be purchased by contacting the IPD Office of Human Resources, The Ohio Education Association or The Ohio Council of Churches. Proceeds are used to further projects initiated by the Foundation under its founder, Dr. Charles Glatt.

COLUMBUS AREA CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

June 10-11, 1977

Hilton Inn-North
7007 North High Street
Worthington, Ohio 43085

Theme: *"Desegregation: Understanding Cultural Diversity"*

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1977

5:00 - 6:00 p.m..... Registration

6:00 - 6:45 p.m..... Dinner

6:45 - 7:00 p.m..... FIRST GENERAL SESSION:

*Ms. Barbara Hartgrove, Chairperson
CEA Desegregation Task Force
Columbus, Ohio*

Program Overview: *Mr. Ramon H. Mac Farlane
IPD Associate for
Affirmative Action/Desegregation
Ohio Education Association
Columbus, Ohio*

7:00 - 8:30 p.m..... WORKSHOP SESSION "A"

Moderator: *Mr. Walter Armes, Chairperson
COTA Legislative Committee
Columbus, Ohio*

Topic: *"Desegregation Legislation: Developing
A State Formula To Assist Local School
Districts In Ohio"*

Panelists: *Honorable C. J. McLin, Jr.
Representative - House District #36
Dayton, Ohio*

*Honorable James Rankin
Representative - House District #25
Cincinnati, Ohio*

*Ms. Marian Bontempo, Legislative Intern
To Morris Jackson (Cuyahoga County)
House District #21
Cleveland, Ohio*

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1977 (cont.)

8:30 - 10:00 p.m. WORKSHOP SESSION "B"

Moderator: *Ms. Delores Diggs*, Member
COTA Leadership Development Committee
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"From Plessy to Penick: An Overview of
The Legal Aspects of School Desegregation"*

Panelists: *Mr. Willard Jenkins*, School Administrator
Dayton Public Schools
Dayton, Ohio

Mr. Ramon H. Mac Farlane
IPD Staff Member
Ohio Education Association
Columbus, Ohio

Ms. Peg VanGundy, Past President
Springfield Education Association
Springfield, Ohio

10:00 - Until Social Interaction

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1977

8:00 - 8:30 a.m. Registration

8:30 - 10:15 a.m. WORKSHOP SESSION "C"

Moderator: *Mr. Nathaniel Radford*, Member
OEA Human Relations Commission
Springfield, Ohio

Topic: *"Violence In The Schools: A By-Product
Of School Desegregation"*

Panelists: *Mr. Richard Logan*, Member
COTA Executive Board
Columbus, Ohio

Mrs. Ellen Mac Farlane
Executive Secretary
Central Ohio Teachers Association
Columbus, Ohio

Mrs. Essie Richardson, J.H. Counselor
Columbus City Schools
Columbus, Ohio

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1977 (cont.)

8:30 - 10:15 a.m..... WORKSHOP SESSION "D"

Moderator: *Ms. Polly Fugate*, Vice President
Columbus Education Association
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"Community Involvement: A Needed Ingredient
In Understanding School Desegregation"*

Panelists: *Ms. Sharon Aldridge*, Director
Education and Community Relations
The Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Columbus, Ohio

Mr. Frank Lomas, Executive Director
Columbus Urban League
Columbus, Ohio

Mr. Don Pierce, Executive Director
Columbus Metropolitan School Committee
Columbus, Ohio

10:15 - 10:30 a.m..... Break

10:30 - 12:00 noon WORKSHOP SESSION "E"

Moderator: *Ms. Olga Roberson Conley*, Member
CEA Desegregation Task Force
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"Developing Desegregation Support Groups
In The Schools"*

Panelists: *Mr. Joseph E. Six, Jr.*, Teacher
Southeast Career Center
Columbus Public Schools
Columbus, Ohio

Ms. Charlotte Huddle, Guidance Counselor
Columbus Public Schools
Columbus, Ohio

Ms. Eleanor Young, Teacher
Columbus Public Schools
Columbus, Ohio

WORKSHOP SESSION "F"

Moderator: *Ms. F. Estella Worth*, Staff Member
Ohio Council of Churches
Worthington, Ohio

Topic: *"The Role of The Church In School
Desegregation"*

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1977 (cont.)

10:30 - 12:00 noon..... Panelists: *Rev. Duane Holm*, Director
Metropolitan Religious Coalition of
Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Rev. John Frazier, Executive Director
Metropolitan Area Church Board
Columbus, Ohio

Rev. Joseph Sprague, Pastor
Indianola United Methodist Church
Columbus, Ohio

WORKSHOP SESSION "G"

Moderator: *Ms. Lee Hall*, Member
CEA Desegregation Task Force
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"Staff Development and Inservice Training
For Desegregated Settings"*

Panelists: *Mr. Robert Black*, Program Officer
KEDS General Assistance Center
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio

Ms. Hazel Flowers, Consultant
Office of Equal Educational Opportunities
State Department of Education
Columbus, Ohio

Mr. Earl Jones, Consultant
National Education Association
Teacher Rights Division
Atlanta, Georgia

12:00 - 12:45 p.m..... Luncheon

12:45 - 1:30 p.m..... SECOND GENERAL SESSION:

Ms. Toni Sharma, President-Elect
Central Ohio Teachers Association
Columbus, Ohio

Introduction of Speaker

Topic: *"Desegregation: Its Impact on Quality
Education"*

Keynote

Speaker: *Dr. Charles Taylor*, President
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1977 (cont.)

1:30 - 3:00 p.m..... WORKSHOP SESSION "H"

Moderator: *George Goodrich, Member*
CEA Desegregation Task Force
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"The Mental Health of Teachers In
Desegregated Settings"*

Panelists: *Dr. Anthony C. Riccio*
Professor of Education
Faculty of Special Services
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Dr. Anthony M. Gamboa, Jr., Director
Desegregation Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Ms. Joyce Swayne
Graduate Assistant
Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

WORKSHOP SESSION "I"

Moderator: *Ms. Loraine Jarrett, Member*
CEA Desegregation Task Force
Columbus, Ohio

Topic: *"Black Dialect vs. Standard English:
Communicating In A Desegregated Setting"*

Panelists: *Dr. Richard Kelsey*
Professor of Education
Faculty of Special Services
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Mrs. Mary W. Six, Reading Consultant
Columbus Public Schools
Columbus, Ohio

Dr. Marian Johnson, Research Associate
Center For Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

3:00 - 3:15 p.m..... Adjournment:

Barbara Hartgrove & Ramon H. Mac Farlane

PUBLICATION STATEMENT:

The conference material contained in this booklet and used in concert with this seminar has been made possible through the funding of a project proposal submitted to the Teacher Rights Division of the National Education Association by the OEA Commission on Human Relations in December 1976. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Education Association or its state affiliate, the Ohio Education Association, and no official endorsement by the NEA or the OEA should be inferred.

For further information, contact Mr. Ramon H. Mac Farlane, IPD Associate, OEA-IPD Office of Human Resources, 225 East Broad Street, P.O. Box 2550, Columbus, Ohio 43216.

Discussion Panel - Session "A"

*"Desegregation Legislation:
Developing A State Formula To
Assist Local School Districts In Ohio"*

" . . . The first priority set forth as a charge in the major policy statement on integration is the development of a transportation plan which will give all students access to vocational and career programs and those courses and programs which are not available to a student in his home school.

In developing this plan the following philosophic tenets were agreed upon by the transportation committee:

1. The plan will provide greater opportunity for all children in the Columbus City School District to have access to vocational, career, and special programs regardless of accident of geographic location.
2. The plan will be curriculum centered with educational program as the vehicle for providing opportunities for integrated educational experiences. Program strength and availability must act as the impetus to voluntary participation.
3. The development, location, and/or placement of educational programs or subjects is crucial to the creation of integrated experiences.
4. The plan will be developed on a school-to-school concept rather than a home-to-school-to-home concept.
5. This plan will provide transportation on a school-to-school basis for programs mutually developed on a local basis that foster opportunities for integrated educational experiences, in addition to those plans initiated at central administration."

The above excerpt was taken from The Columbus Plan For Transportation To Special Programs, April, 1973 which was published by the Columbus Public Schools as an informational brochure to the school community. This panel will discuss the development of legislation to provide financial resources to school districts under court order to desegregate.

DESEGREGATION AND EQUALITY: MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE

Desegregation, in some form and to some degree, is a fact in most schools across the country. It is a fact that more students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds share the same schools and the same classrooms than did those of 10 or 20 years ago. It is a fact that some schools have desegregated without overt incident, while others have experienced disruption, turmoil, and disorder. It is a fact that some desegregation plans have been instituted voluntarily by the communities involved, and others have been the result of hotly contested court orders.

What are the implications of these facts? What is the difference between a Boston and a Minneapolis? Does mere physical proximity of racially and ethnically heterogeneous students achieve the purpose for which desegregation is intended to be the means?

"The purpose of school desegregation is to provide equal educational opportunity for all students, a right guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment," asserts the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report entitled *Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools*. The 315-page report was released in August of last year.

The letter transmitting the report to the President of the United States and to the leaders of Congress states that the report "contains the Commission's evaluation of school desegregation in a variety of school districts throughout the country." It goes on to say, "The report reveals that in most communities desegregation has gone peacefully and smoothly. . . . (But) much work remains to be done before equal educational opportunity can become a reality."

The NEA has known this all along. In its resolutions and in its program, the Association has supported and worked toward both the fact of desegregation and the goal of equal educational opportunity. NEA Resolution A-1, "Educational Opportunity for All," specifies that "education should . . . be nonsegregated. . . and be guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States." Resolution H-1, "Integration in the Public Schools," says, "The National Education Association believes it is imperative that full integration of the nation's schools be effected." Resolution H-6, "Civil Rights," affirms the Association's commitment "to the achievement of a racially integrated society."

These resolutions find expression in the program objectives which determine the Association's activity. For 1976-77, major objectives deal with affirmative action, minority rights, antiracism and antisexism, desegregation and integration. Clearly, then, an evaluation and understanding of the information in the Commission's report is relevant to the business of the NEA: helping teachers achieve their goal of providing equal and high-quality educational opportunity for all students.

With this perspective in mind, it helps to understand the Commission's authority, the charge it executed in issuing the report. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957. Its directives focus on issues arising out of unequal treatment under the law "because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." Its functions include investigating voting rights complaints, studying and collecting information on

legal developments, evaluating federal laws and policies, serving as a clearing-house, and submitting reports and recommendations to the President and the Congress of the United States.

The report was issued in the context of the Bicentennial. It urges readers to "do all within their power to make the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution living documents in the lives of children and young people by giving them an equal chance for an education."

Complementarily, the purpose of the report was also to correct prevalent misconceptions on such desegregation-related issues as the differences in *de facto* and *de jure* illegalities and the purpose and extent of busing. Also, the report was to give the American public information on the conditions that seem to accompany instances of successful busing.

To accomplish this, over a period of a year, four public hearings were held by the Commission in Boston, Denver, Tampa, and Louisville, and four state advisory committee open meetings were held in Berkeley, Minneapolis, Stamford, and Corpus Christi. A total of 4,500 persons were interviewed for the four hearings, with more than 100 persons finally testifying under oath at each. More than 50 persons spoke at each of the four open meetings.

In addition, a mail survey was sent to people in 1,292 school districts, and case studies were conducted in 29 school districts around the country. From this wealth of information, the Commission drew its conclusions, conclusions that some have argued do not acknowledge the full scope of the remaining problem--the distance between the fact of desegregation and the goal of equality of educational opportunity.

What, in fact, does the report say? It states that "... for every Boston and Louisville there are dozens of other communities which have received no headlines and attracted no television coverage, where desegregation is proceeding without major incident. . ." According to the report, implementation of desegregation plans seems to work best when there is proper planning, when school and community leadership play an active and cooperative role, and when the public is kept informed through responsible media coverage. Constructive local leadership is perhaps the most important ingredient. Successful coalitions to implement desegregation include school officials, police officials, political leaders, religious leaders, business groups, news media, and public and private organizations, who must individually and collectively explain and enforce the law.

When the factors mentioned above are present, the beneficial by-products of the fact of desegregation frequently include institutional renewal--a revamped educational program, improvement in community race relations, increased parental involvement in education, gains in minority student achievement levels, and elimination of majority students' stereotypes. When there is a lack of constructive leadership, when the community is fragmented, when the media sensationalize disruptions, when there is covert or overt encouragement to resist implementing the law of the land, then desegregation efforts are accompanied by confusion, anxiety, and disruption. Further, the report says that:

1. Desegregation works even where some citizens and leaders try to prevent its progress.

2. In 82 percent of the school districts examined, students desegregated peacefully without any serious disruptions.
3. Black and white students learn to get along with each other well, despite some opposition from parents on both sides. Students and their parents often report the dispelling of prejudice and stereotypes as a special benefit of desegregation and see it as valuable preparation for later life.
4. Desegregation has produced more positive attitudes toward schools and little change in the quality of education.
5. Mandatory busing plans have worked in many areas where voluntary types of plans have failed. There has been only a minor increase in busing as a result of desegregation. While slightly more than 50 percent of the nation's students ride buses to school, less than 7 percent of these bus riders are bused for desegregation purposes. Only 3.6 percent of public school students are bused for desegregation purposes.
6. Desegregation works best where volunteer community groups have organized to help implement the plans.
7. Resistance and disruption occur when local officials refuse to cooperate.
8. The absence of strong leadership from the White House and the federal government creates difficulty in the implementation of desegregation plans.

This is all fine and good. In many situations, the positive factors and outcomes are present. They represent progress, "substantial progress," *but* there are problems, ones not limited to instances where desegregation is accompanied by violence and turmoil. There are also problems in other situations. According to the report, "These . . . include classroom segregation, inequitable disciplinary procedures, low minority participation in extra-curricular activities, lack of minority representation on administrative and teaching staffs, and the absence of multicultural, bilingual education for language-minority students."

These are serious problems, and to say, as the report does, that they are not inevitable, that "they result from lack of foresight, planning, and evaluation on the part of school officials and the community" may be true. Unfortunately, sometimes in recognizing a truth we gloss over a reality.

Consider the prevalence of classroom segregation. The report notes that a 1973 study of 467 Southern school districts showed that 35 percent of the high schools and 60 percent of the elementary schools had segregated classrooms. In six of the seven Southern states surveyed in another study, 70 percent of the school districts with racially identifiable classrooms practiced ability grouping.

Another major cause of classroom segregation cited by the report is assignment of minority students to "special education" classes. When these classes are for the educable mentally retarded (EMR), standardized IQ and achievement test scores are usually the basis for decision. In one case in California, a federal court ruled against placing primary reliance on such tests as currently adminis-

tered when the result is racial imbalance in the special classes. In fact, the Commission observes, "the courts have been fairly consistent in holding that pupil assignment by standardized achievement or IQ test scores is unconstitutional when the intended and actual result is the perpetuation of the dual system. . . ." Such perpetuation of a dual system can be seen in the Commission's 1973 findings that in Texas "Mexican American students were twice as likely to be placed in EMR classes as white (students); the ratio of Black students was $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater." These statistics do not indicate that desegregation necessarily results in equality of educational opportunity for all.

The statistics available, says the Commission, clearly show that minority students are involved in disciplinary actions, particularly suspensions and expulsions, in a number disproportionate to their representation in the school population. In Hillsborough County, Florida, in 1973-74, two years after the first year of total desegregation, 10,149 students were suspended. Of these, about half were minority students, who represented only 20 percent of the total student population in the County.

In Denver, 73 percent of the junior high school suspensions in the first four months of instruction were minority students who represented only 45 percent of the total student population. In April 1976, the report says (citing a local newspaper) that some high schools in Jefferson County, Kentucky, "were suspending Black students at rates 7 to 15 times as high as the rate for white student suspensions." The rates there were the highest in those schools that had formerly been predominantly white.

In the context of disciplinary procedures, the Commission states that "desegregation requires reevaluation of all school policies and procedures to ensure that they do not have a discriminatory effect on minority children." Noting that "the road ahead may be as difficult as the ground already covered," the Commission also makes certain recommendations as to courses of action necessary to maintain and further the progress that has been made. They are as follows:

1. "Leaders at the national, state, and local levels must accept the fact that desegregation of the nation's schools is a constitutional imperative." Efforts to curb the role of the courts in promoting desegregation only delay and make more difficult the implementation of this imperative.
2. "The federal government must strengthen and expand programs designed to facilitate the school desegregation process." One way is through funding for technical assistance, human-relations training, curriculum development, teacher training, and school construction.
3. "There must be vigorous enforcement of laws which contribute to the development of desegregated communities." Fair housing laws should be enforced, and programs for achieving residential desegregation should be developed and put into effect.
4. "A major investment of time and resources must be made in order to deal with misconceptions relative to desegregation." The nature of illegal school segregation, the role of busing in court-ordered desegregation, and the real causes of white flight from the inner cities need to be

made clear to the American public.

These are good recommendations, and ones that if implemented will make a difference. The Commission has done a service in demonstrating that desegregation situations are not invariably, or even often, accompanied by the dramatic violence that has gained the most media coverage. It is also useful to have identified the factors that help and hinder--to recognize the role of community leadership, of adequate public information, of proper planning.

Equality of educational opportunity for all students, however, seems to be a far less widely achieved goal than is the fact of desegregation, a fact that in itself is not uniformly established. Teachers have to deal daily with the pressures of performing their professional duties in classrooms affected by social change and of structuring the learning situation so that all get an equal chance. Teachers know that saying "much remains to be done" is true, and that it is so true as to be almost an understatement.

With the great distance yet to be covered to attain the real goal of desegregation, with the myriad of problems remaining, it is perhaps understandable that the Commission leaned toward painting a positive picture. But teachers work with reality every day. Teachers don't need--nor do they ask for--either doom and gloom on the one hand or rose-colored glasses on the other. The challenge to face, and that can be met, given proper help and information and opportunity, is to deal with the reality of both the problems that remain and the progress that has been made.

The task that teachers and that the NEA must support by policy and program is to help establish the fact of desegregation and to bring about its goal: equality of educational opportunity for all students.

This article, "Desegregation and Equality," appeared in the January-February 1977 issue of Today's Education, The Journal of the National Education Association. It is based on the recent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report entitled, "Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools," which outlines the Commission's evaluation of school desegregation in a variety of school districts throughout the country. The NEA Teacher Rights Division responds, in its reaction to the report, that the goal of equality of educational opportunity is inversely proportionate to the degree of achievement of desegregation and concludes that teachers and the NEA must continue to establish the fact of desegregation in order that its goal -- equality of educational opportunity for all students -- can be achieved. We've gone a long way, but much remains to be done.

-- NEA Teacher Rights

Discussion Panel - Session "B"

"From Plessy to Penick: An Overview of The Legal Aspects of School Desegregation"

"The legal foundation for most school desegregation cases is the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution which includes the Equal Protection Clause. The amendment declares in part that:

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person in its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Congress has the power to pass laws appropriate to implementing this provision; however, the federal courts have been the primary place where the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment have been enforced.

The primary issue in the first school desegregation suit was whether the Fourteenth Amendment permitted a state, or any of its subdivisions such as school districts, to operate one school system for whites and a separate one for blacks. The major legal obstacle facing those who first challenged statutorily mandated school segregation was an 1896 decision of the United States Supreme Court, *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In that case, the Court had upheld the constitutional validity of a Louisiana statute requiring "equal but separate accommodations" for white and black railway passengers.

Four cases on desegregation in elementary and secondary education from Kansas, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina arrived at the Supreme Court in 1953 and were combined for hearing under the title of the Topeka, Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 1954, in *Brown I*, the Supreme Court ruled on the issue of segregation. In 1955, in *Brown II*, the Court reconvened to hear further argument on the question of relief or remedy due to varying local conditions.

The Court, in *Brown I*, essentially overruled the *Plessy* decision and held that state laws which segregated students by race deprived them of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The court expressly recognized the inherent inequality of all segregation and it noted that when segregation had the sanction of law, its effects were even greater. The justices in a unanimous opinion concluded that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The decision required the legally sanctioned dual school systems in the South to be converted to unitary or single, desegregated systems. . . . "

The above excerpt was taken from the Citizen Guide to Desegregation, published by the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools, February, 1976.

The Columbus School Desegregation Decision
Penick v. Columbus Board of Education

I Introduction

On June 21, 1973, Gary L. Penick, a student in the Columbus schools filed suit in Federal District Court in Columbus on behalf of himself and 13 other children (or their parents). The suit claimed that a recently passed bond issue for construction required that the Columbus Board guarantee integrated educational experiences. On October 22, 1974, an amended complaint was filed as a class action alleging that the Columbus defendants had intentionally segregated the public schools and that the new school construction program furthered that segregation. The State Board of Education, the Attorney General, and the Governor were alleged to have failed to bring about desegregation of the Columbus schools. The NAACP joined Penick and the others in this complaint. The case was assigned to Judge Robert M. Duncan of the District Court.

The trial began on April 19, 1976, and lasted 36 days ending on June 17, 1976. Closing arguments were presented on September 3, 1976. The opinion of the Court was released on March 8, 1977, and found the Columbus and State Boards of Education liable for unconstitutional action.

II Review of the Evidence - Columbus Board

A. Historical Review

The Court found that a dual school system existed at the time of the Brown decision in 1954 as "the direct result of cognitive acts or omissions of those school board members and administrators who had intentionally caused and later perpetuated the racial isolation in the east area of the district. . . ."

The Court found that the Columbus Board had never taken action to dismantle the dual system and has, in fact, maintained and enhanced the racial imbalance that existed in 1954.

B. School Construction

The Court notes that of 103 schools constructed between 1950 and 1975, 87 opened racially identifiable and 71 remain identifiable at the time of the trial. The evidence supports a finding that defendants could have known the probable racial composition of new schools from demographic trend data. In some cases, evidence indicates that the Board was notified by individuals or groups that the schools would be racially imbalanced. Since the Board could have known, and in some cases did know the probable racial composition of new schools, the Court assumes that the racially identifiable schools were intended.

Two specific examples of site selection and construction that maintained and furthered segregation are cited. (Glaistone Elementary and Sixth Avenue Elementary.)

C. Optional Zones

The Court finds that optional zones were used by the Board to intentionally segregate students and again cites two examples. (The Near Bexley option and the Hilltop area option.)

D. Discontiguous Zones

The Board, on occasion, has drawn attendance boundaries so that students in one area of the city would be assigned to a school outside their neighborhood. In the cases cited white students were assigned to schools predominantly white when their neighborhood school was predominantly black. In the case of Moler Elementary, this required transporting the white students past predominantly black Alum Crest Elementary which had ample classroom space for the transported Moler students.

E. Drawing Attendance Boundaries

The opinion discusses in some detail construction and boundary decisions following the bond levy in 1972. At about the same time the levy passed, the Columbus Board approved a policy of giving every student "the opportunity for integrated educational experiences". It announced that racial integration was a relevant factor in site selection and boundary drawing. In 1975, when Innis Road Elementary (the first school built with levy funds) was ready to open, the Board was presented with two educationally acceptable ways of drawing boundaries between Innis Road and Cassady. One option would have desegregated the two schools; the other left the two schools racially identifiable.

Judge Duncan concludes this section:

"The Columbus voters approved the November 1972 bond levy by a 55.7% majority. When Innis Road Elementary was completed, Dr. Ellis complied with his duty under the Board's July 18, 1972, resolution, and he kept his bargain with the

voters. He presented an educationally sound, integrative alternative to the Board concerning Innis and Cassady. Here, he in effect said, is an opportunity to use school attendance area boundary lines and organizational changes to improve integration of schools without resorting to unreasonable gerrymandering. The Columbus Board of Education refused the offer."

F. Notice

The Court cites many times when the Columbus Board was advised by individuals and groups that certain actions were segregative or that certain opportunities were being missed. Judge Duncan concludes:

"From a careful review of the facts, I believe it fair to say that the Columbus defendants' response to notice of the racial imbalance problem and to a mass of advice about alternatives has been minimal."

G. Neighborhood Schools

Judge Duncan commented on the local board's defense of a neighborhood school policy:

"A neighborhood school policy, revered by many as it is, cannot be a contribution to unconstitutional deprivation. Those who rely on it as a defense to unlawful school desegregation fail to recognize the high priority of the constitutional right involved."

H. Residential Segregation

The opinion also discusses the relationship of school and real estate decisions.

"When the number of black pupils increases, the number of black teachers increases, and a black principal is assigned; the school then becomes less attractive for white students to attend. The racial identification of the school in turn tends to maintain the neighborhood's racial identity, or even promote it by hastening the movement in a racial transition area. White families tend to cease migrating into such a neighborhood, and tend to move out of the area...."

"The interaction of housing and the schools operates to promote segregation in each...."

"I do not suggest that any reasonable action by the school authorities could have fully cured the evils of residential segregation. The Court could not and would not impose such a duty upon the defendants. I do believe, however, that the Columbus defendants could and should have acted to break the segregative snowball created by their interaction with housing. That is, they could and should have

acted with an integrative rather than segregative influence upon housing; they could and should have been cautious concerning the segregation influences that are exerted upon the schools by housing. They certainly should not have aggravated racial imbalance in the schools by their official actions."

I. Recent Efforts

The Court recognized the value of recent efforts by the Board to provide more opportunities for integrated educational experiences through certain vocational and alternative programs. The sum of those efforts, however, was not viewed as likely to substantially cure the system's unlawful racial segregation.

III Review of the Evidence - State Defendants

The Governor and Attorney General were found not to share any liability for the segregated system. The State Board of Education and State Superintendent for Public Instruction, however, were found to have acceded to the racially isolated system and taken no action to dismantle it.

The Judge reasoned that the state is responsible under the state constitution for public education. In 1956, the Attorney General advised the State Board that it has "an affirmative duty under both Ohio and federal law to take all actions necessary, including, but not limited to, the withholding of state and federal funds, to prevent and eliminate racial segregation in the public schools." The Court found that the state defendants have done nothing actively to follow through on that ruling.

The opinion described the well intentioned actions of state school officials and concluded:

"Information was provided to districts, and rather gentle persuasion employed to encourage desegregation. But some firm action is needed when the horse won't drink the water."

State defendants have, by their inaction, allowed the unconstitutional actions of the local board to stand.

IV Conclusions

Judge Duncan certified the opinion for an interlocutory appeal which means that the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals can review the finding of liability while remedies are developed.

In this concluding part of the opinion, Judge Duncan also gives some thoughts and suggestions about remedy. He stresses the need, in developing and implementing a remedy to accommodate two considerations. First, the Columbus schools are unlawfully segregated and that dual system must be abolished. Second, the desegregation remedy ought to consider the social costs of implementation and minimize them. In that

regard, he suggested that the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Swann would allow some one race schools to remain if defendants could show that assignment to them was not discriminatory. He particularly suggested that the Court might allow "a limited number of racially imbalanced predominantly white schools".

The Court also notes that the decision of the Sixth Circuit in the Dayton case has just been accepted for review by the Supreme Court (see page 11 of this Update.) This may provide an opportunity for the Supreme Court to issue further guidance on the extent of the remedy. Until some new word comes from the Supreme Court, Judge Duncan notes that the Sixth Circuit opinions are binding upon him.

Finally, the Court suggests that perhaps the parties to the suit themselves should now come together to formulate an acceptable remedy.

Plans were ordered prepared by the Columbus Board and the State Board to be submitted in 90 days and to go into effect in September of 1977. All plans for the construction of new facilities are to be submitted to the Court for review.

The Cleveland Desegregation Plan

Plans to desegregate district schools beginning in September of 1977 have been submitted by both the Cleveland School Board and the State Board of Education. Before outlining the elements of those plans, it may be helpful to summarize the significant events in the desegregation process in Cleveland.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| August 31, 1976 | District Court decision finding the Cleveland Board and the Ohio Board had violated the constitutional rights of black students. Court directed plans to be prepared in 90 days. |
| September 20, 1976 | Judge Paul Wieck of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a stay which halted all planning for desegregation. |
| November 17, 1976 | Three judge panel of Sixth Circuit vacated the stay order and allowed planning to go forward. The panel also agreed to hear the appeals of the local board and state board. |
| December 7, 1976 | Judge Battisti issued guidelines for plans and ordered the local and state school boards to submit them by January 17 (later changed to January 18). |
| January 18, 1977 | Desegregation plans were submitted by the local board and the state board. |

- January 27, 1977 NAACP asked the Court to reject the local plan, contending that it failed to comply with the guidelines.

- February 10, 1977 The Court ordered the Cleveland Board to submit a new plan by February 25. Judge Battisti asked the Attorney General to intervene in the case.

- February 25, 1977 Cleveland Board submitted a second plan. It also announced its intention to appeal the order rejecting its first plan.

- March 10, 1977 NAACP asks Court to require both local and state boards to "approve" rather than simply "transmit" plans to the Court and asks that public hearings be held on the adequacy of the local plan.

- March 16, 1977 Judge Battisti orders the local and state school boards to approve their plans and postpones ruling on hearings until the Attorney General decides whether to intervene. (See page 13.)

The state and local plans are discussed below. While the plans differ substantially, they share a common feature: three phases, with the assertion by their respective sponsors that full compliance with the Court's order would be achieved with the implementation of Phase III in the school year beginning September, 1979.

I The State Plan

When the state plan was submitted, the State Board informed the Court that it did not approve the plan, but was forwarding the plan to the Court solely to comply with the Court's order.

A. Student Reassignment

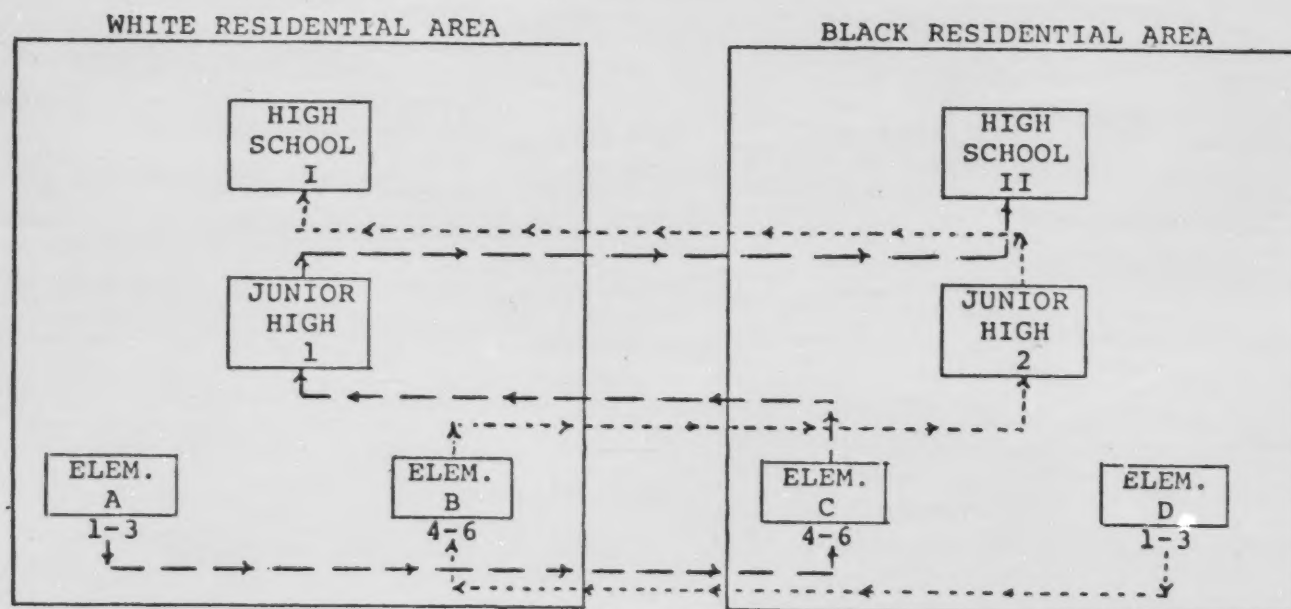
The state plan proposes to desegregate every school building and every grade on a full-time basis. The plan defined a desegregated school as one within 15% of the minority/non-minority ratio of the entire system--i.e., having a black enrollment of 59% plus or minus 15%. It should be noted that of the 130 or so elementary schools in the Cleveland system only seven now meet the state plan's criteria of being within 15% of the system's racial makeup. There are 113 elementaries that have enrollments 95% or greater of one race. Only two junior highs out of twenty-eight and one senior high out of fifteen are currently within the 15% figure.

The state plan proposes to achieve its objective by creating new attendance areas for Cleveland high schools and, in several instances, by "pairing" of two high school attendance areas where a single contiguous area would not result in desegregation. This pattern results in the pairing of elementary schools that feed the junior highs and high schools. It is a standard technique used in many desegregation plans, and for that reason will be described in some detail here.

The paired elementary schools would no longer include grades 1 through 6 in each school. Rather, a typical pairing of a black with a white school might result in one becoming a grade 1 through 3 school for students living in either elementary school's attendance area while the other would be a grade 3 through 6 school for those same students. A typical student would thus attend four schools in twelve years: two elementaries, one junior high and one high school. Kindergarten and pre-school programs would remain at the neighborhood school. Students from the paired elementary areas would attend school together for all twelve years.

Without addressing specific school pairings proposed by the state plan, Figure 1 demonstrates how the pairings and revised feeder systems could operate. The current pattern is for students living in the neighborhood attendance area of Elementary School A to attend grades 1 through 6 at that school then progress to Junior High 1 then to High School I. Elementary School B, and perhaps others, feed into Junior High 1. Other junior high schools from a broader, but contiguous, area also feed into High School I. Because the elementary school attendance area is a white residential area, the students are in predominantly white schools for all twelve years. The same situation exists for High School II and its feeder schools, except that its elementary school attendance areas are in black residential neighborhoods thus guaranteeing that the students in that feeder system attend predominantly black schools for all twelve years.

FIGURE 1



The state plan proposes to eliminate racial isolation by pairing the attendance areas for Elementary Schools A and C. Students living within that paired area would attend Elementary A for grades 1 through 3, Elementary C for grades 4 through 6, then Junior High 1 then High School II. Typically, an elementary student would spend three of his six years at his "home" school and the other three at the paired school. However, some of the elementary pairings of the state plan involve three schools. In those instances, each of the three schools would contain a different grade structure and all students in the three attendance areas would progress through all three schools during their six years of elementary education.

B. Faculty and Staff

The state plan proposes to desegregate faculty and staff so that in every building the minority/non-minority ratio will be within 10% of the city-wide ratio. It proposes voluntary faculty reassignments to be followed by assignment by lottery if voluntarism does not achieve the proposed composition.

C. Suburban Involvement

The State Board reported to the Court that it had reached a determination that suburban participation would not be required.

D. Cost

The State Board estimates a total capital (one-time) cost of just under ten million dollars for the three years plus an operating cost of \$2.8 million the first year, \$4.1 million the second and \$5.5 million the third and subsequent years.

II Local Plan

In submitting its second plan, the Cleveland Board and Superintendent Briggs reported to the Court that it was their belief:

(T)hat the second desegregation plan submitted herewith is likewise unconstitutional. However, in order to be in compliance with your Honor's order of February 10, as interpreted by Professor Means (the court-appointed expert) these defendants have authorized their counsel to submit, with disapproval, a second proposed desegregation plan herewith.

The Board further contended, in its introductory statement, that to require the desegregation of every grade in every school* in Cleveland was unconstitutional because it would involve "a remedy far beyond the named violations found by the court."

* - The guidelines issued by the Court require that the racial composition of each school "shall not deviate from the racial composition of the district as a whole."

A. Pupil Desegregation

The plan defines a desegregated school as one within 15% of the racial composition of the district as a whole.

1. Phase I

The local plan proposes many educational features and programs (such as magnet elementary schools and expanded vocational programs) intended to be attractive to students and their families in the hope that voluntary applications would result in desegregation. In other instances, the local plan proposes to expand existing schools and programs that are current desegregated.

Phase I proposes the use of eight methods to achieve, in the words of the plan, "some degree of desegregation for 37% of the pupils of the Cleveland School System." It also proposes a mid-phase evaluation to determine which of the eight methods are successfully aiding the desegregation efforts and which ones might be eliminated, expanded or continued into phases II and III.

The eight methods proposed for Phase I are:

1. Elimination of optional zones. The plan terminates all 54 existing optional zones.
2. School closings and changing use of facilities. The plan would close five schools most of which the Board points out will not have any immediate effect on desegregation.
3. Pairing of eighteen elementary schools. The details of the pairings are not outlined.
4. Clustering. This involves two new part time desegregation programs and a third "special cluster" in an area of the city which has desegregated secondary schools.
5. Magnet schools and programs. The plan proposes three elementary schools, one high school program, and junior high mini courses. This section also discusses expanded use of the Supplementary Education Center.
6. Voluntary school selection. This part allows transfers improving racial balance.
7. Programs with other school systems. No details are provided beyond saying that specifics would be worked out by a committee from the participating school systems.
8. Review of special transfers. Students other than seniors not attending their home school will be reassigned to their home school if it improves racial balance.

2. Impact of Phase I

The Cleveland Board estimates that 25,518 pupils (21% of the students) will be enrolled in either full time or half time desegregated schools while another 18,040 (15% of the students) will be involved in part time desegregated experiences.

3. Phases II and III

The Board's submission for Phases II and III are simply computer print-outs pairing and clustering schools in a fashion that the total enrollment of the joined schools satisfies the racial percentages standard set by the Board.

The plan does not explain how the pairings are to operate (i.e., whether there will be grade-structure changes, random student assignment within schools, etc.), or how the feeder system would operate (e.g., can parents know at the time their child starts school which schools will be attended at each grade level?). The Board does, however, spend six pages (71-76) explaining why it believes the Court's requirements are "inconsistent with sound educational reasoning. . . ."

B. Faculty and Staff Desegregation

The local plan proposes to implement Judge Battisti's guidelines for desegregation of faculty and staff in three phases over a three-year period. By September, 1977 (Phase I), the administrative and food service staffs will be fully desegregated, while the instructional staff will be "substantially" desegregated. In Phase II (September, 1978) the instructional staff and the custodial staff in all school facilities will be in full compliance. By November, 1979 (Phase III) the clerical staff in all school facilities will be fully desegregated.

C. Other Provisions

In addition to the items discussed above, the plan outlines in general terms some goals involving in-service training, expanded cooperation with area colleges, security, emergency procedures, and student behavior.

The City-Wide Advisory Committee on Integration, a group of forty individuals appointed by the Cleveland Board to advise it with respect to development of desegregation plans, is to continue in existence for purposes of advising the Board and assisting in monitoring plan implementation. Each school is also to have a School Advisory Committee on Integration composed of parents, students, administration staff and interested citizens.

D. Cost

The Cleveland Board plan estimates a total one time cost of \$18,299,331 with annual recurring costs of \$23,759,890 after the phase-in period. The one time cost estimates are twice the State Board's estimate; the estimated recurring costs are more than four times the State Board's estimates.

(See Update No. 4 for a summary of the District Court opinion in the Cleveland case.)

Recent Supreme Court Actions

Recent actions by the Supreme Court have been widely reported as altering earlier decisions both on determining unconstitutional segregation and on the extent of remedies to be applied. The Court remanded two school desegregation decisions back to lower courts for reconsideration--one from Austin, Texas, and one from Indianapolis, Indiana, and has agreed to hear the school board's appeal from Dayton, Ohio.

In both the Austin and Indianapolis cases, the Court issued no opinion on the merits of the cases but asked that the lower court reconsider its opinion in light of other Supreme Court decisions. In the Austin case the other decision was Washington v. Davis, an employment discrimination case, and in Indianapolis the other decisions were Washington v. Davis and Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing, a housing discrimination case.

Both Washington and Arlington Heights decisions are based upon the principle that racially disproportionate outcomes alone are not sufficient to show unconstitutional action. Plaintiffs must prove that the intent or purpose was to segregate. In Washington, they must show that an examination was intended to segregate by race not just that the effect was segregation. In Arlington Heights, they must show that zoning laws were intended to segregate not just that they did. (See Desegregation Update No. 6 for a detailed discussion of Washington and Austin.)

A showing of intent has always been required in school desegregation cases in the north, thus it is not entirely clear what the message of the remands may be. That leaves the actions open to much speculation. Until the Supreme Court itself speaks again on the matter of intent in school desegregation cases, the decision in Denver, Keyes, remains the standard. All else is speculation about what might be.

Questions on the extent of remedies have also made the news. Three justices, Powell, Burger, and Rehnquist, attached a personal opinion to the remand in Austin which essentially argued that remedies are frequently too extensive. That personal opinion is not binding on any lower court; it only announces the particular concerns of three justices of the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court accepted the Dayton case for review. The case raises clearly the question of the extent of the remedy to be applied. Dayton implemented a systemwide remedy in Fall, 1975. The Dayton School Board argues in its appeal to the Supreme Court that a systemwide remedy is too sweeping given the limited constitutional violations that were found.

Much speculation has appeared suggesting that the Supreme Court is about to restrict systemwide remedies. That is not at all clear since this same Court has refused to review remedies from Louisville and Boston, both of which are systemwide. The Court also let stand

a lower court ruling in Wilmington, Delaware, requiring the development of a metropolitan remedy. Until the Supreme Court itself speaks, possibly in the Dayton case, the standards for remedy from previous Supreme Court decisions remain the law.

The Federal District Courts hearing cases in Ohio must use those standards in evaluating Cleveland, Columbus, Youngstown, and Cincinnati. They cannot base their decisions upon what some think the Supreme Court might do at some future time.

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Additional copies of this and other Desegregation Updates may be secured from the Citizens' Council by calling (216) 621-5220.

Discussion Panel - Session "C"

*"Violence In The Schools: A By-Product Of
School Desegregation"*

"A program to combat violence and disruption in the schools has been inaugurated by Teacher Rights. The idea was developed by the National Education Association Human Relations Committee and funded in the NEA budget for 1976. The intent of this program is to assist affiliates in identifying the causes of violence and in designing, carrying out and evaluating efforts to reduce, eliminate or prevent violence in the schools.

School violence is defined* as including any event that significantly disrupts the education of students in public elementary and secondary schools. The major problems that fall within this definition are: vandalism, personal assault, gangs and intergroup clashes, fear of violence, intruders, and weapons.

In a recent report by the Select Committee on Violence In The Schools chaired by U.S. Senator, Birch Bayh, a number of statements were made which indicate the need for effective programs to deal with violence in the schools.

The NEA has suggested that local affiliates assist officials responsible for maintaining order within the school district by designing local programs to reduce school violence. They suggest further that such programs define the specific pattern of violence and disruption in the local school situation; analyze alternative means of attacking the problem; and specify the course of action to be taken. Once such action plans have been implemented, local teams composed of students, parents, social services workers, law enforcement officers, and others could evaluate their efforts and modify the plan as needed."

The NEA, in participation with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Changes, sponsored a summer Institute on Nonviolence In A Violent Society that spoke to the need for peace in a time of emotional upheaval.

The following quote that comes from this Institute should serve as a model for all of us involved in implementing a peaceful atmosphere for desegregation:

" . . . Social ills continue to plague us as a people and as a nation. No amount of Bicentennial rhetoric can dispel the violence that is escalating ever more rapidly in our society. The violence is not confined to the familiar 'street variety.' It is infiltrating the basic structures of our system -- the schools, the courts, the hospitals -- the business and the corporation. We, all Americans, must begin to suspect that the enemy is us. Thus, the call to come together and search the issues and answers. Let us find, while there is yet time, the non-violent alternatives to the chaos of this desperate age." - Coretta Scott King

**Definition from the Research for Better Schools, Inc. Study Planning Assistance Program to Reduce School Violence and Disruption, Jan., 1976.*

"Violence In The Schools:
A Crisis And An Opportunity For
Educational Reform In The 70's"

There is a crisis in public education. In Atlanta, in New York, small towns like Evanston, Illinois or Palo Alto, California. Most of us can agree on that. But when we start to try to define the crisis, we come up with all kinds of conclusions. Some of us use the word *"quality education,"* others insist that financing is the crisis, and it certainly is because property taxes, the predominant method of financing public education in this country, have already been found unconstitutional in four different state courts; which means that on a financing question, we're going to have to have greater federal funds. Right now, federal funds only amount to seven percent of the public education. Some forty to sixty percent comes at the state level, and the rest locally. We're going to see almost a complete reversal of that as the property tax more and more becomes challenged as the main method of financing schools. But as we get more federal funds, I think we're going to have to see that we also don't lose control. The diversity of our society and the complexity of most of our urban areas demands that we have control as close to the neighborhood as we possibly can.

Many people feel that our public education is simply founded on racism; but most of all, our discussion has revolved around politics in certain code words. One refreshing comment was that somebody said that *"it's too bad we don't have a training system in our city already, and then the dialogue about education would be on training our children rather than on busing them."*

The problem with this is that we're in danger of missing the real crisis, and getting caught up on the emotion, prejudice, and politics of education . . . leaving our children to suffer needlessly in an irrelevant situation.

The real problem in education as I see it, public and private, is that it has not adapted to the urban environment. By 1980, 83-90 percent of our population will be urban dwellers. Business and the professions will be conducted in an urban context the world over. It's important that we understand the urban impact on the nurturing and training of children if we are going to deal with this challenge.

Prior to World War II, communities in this country were relatively stable. Children lived with their parents, their grandparents, and in close proximity to aunts and uncles. Furthermore, there were close friends, churches, social activities, all sharing in the love and care of children. In this kind of loving environment, an authoritarian school situation with children sitting in a classroom for six hours could be tolerated because it was seen as a part of a total loving community.

But in the urban and suburban scene since 1945 no such stable and loving community exists. I don't know whether we realize the impact of that. Even those of us who grew up in big cities, they were stable cities. I'm sure many of you can remember as I do that if I got in trouble anywhere in town, doing something I had no business doing, the word got back to my parents before I got home, and I had hell to pay for it. That was the day when the community was responsible for bringing up children. But often, nowadays, both parents are working. There are no grandparents nearby; aunts and uncles have scattered from coast to coast; and neighborhoods are constantly changing. Whether it be an affluent suburb or the inner city, both communities are victims of urban change and instability.

Often the teacher is the only adult to spend long periods of time with the child, and he or she is one adult to 20 or 30 children. And this is a direct contrast to the nurture of 15 or 20 loving adults who reared children in a total loving community a generation or so ago.

It was hard enough to educate children in modern industrial America when there were many adults participating in the process, and when it was a total community process. But it's even more difficult and almost impossible for us to depend on the teacher to try to conduct the whole socialization process of our young people. People are crying for neighborhood schools and they're right; but they've not yet realized that there are no more neighborhoods or communities. We live in a geographic proximity to each other, but we don't even know the names of the people on our block, much less care for the upbringing of their children.

To place children in a classroom for six hours a day with no surrounding, loving community is simply repression; and repression always leads to revolt. This repressive and authoritative atmosphere is really what's responsible for much of the violence in our schools.

We have to see this violence not as racial tension, but as a part of a deeper problem that we face. Children not only fight each other and carry weapons, they break our windows, and they strew the school yard with broken bottles. There have been several indications, even here in Atlanta, of attempted arson. Not just in our public schools, but in our private suburban schools as well. I think this expresses the hostility of children to what they feel to be an inhuman repressive situation where at the prime of life, and when they're bubbling over with energy, somebody says "*you've got to sit there all day long.*"

Now, in a context of complete alienation of children from adults in most of our communities, we produced a completely new problem for educators. Never before have teachers been faced with such tough and hostile youngsters. They're not dumb . . . they have learned from the streets and from television, and their own lives, of the world's cruelties, and they have learned to survive in spite of them.

Somehow, we must fashion an educational method and organize a school system which will meet this challenge; but right now, I'm afraid that's not happening anywhere.

The education process is the responsibility of the total community; and we have witnessed the breakdown of traditional patterns of community, we have thrust more and more of the responsibility of education onto the teacher in the school system.

Somehow, we must structure an education process which is relevant to our urban situation; one which can cope with the change, the challenge of chaos in the total community, and establish some order and knowledge in the minds of our children.

There really is no hiding place from urbanization and its complexities. Private schools and suburban isolation only forestall the day when our children must face up to urban realities; and the measure of their ability to survive will have little or nothing to do with their scores on standardized tests.

Suburban education may well be weighed in the balance of life and found wanting. Like plants raised in a protective hot house environment, they will not be able to stand, our children will not be able to stand the heat of conflict and the chilly winds of adversity.

Man was made for challenge. He was given dominion over the conditions of existence; and we really won't be happy until we accept that challenge and work to overcome.

The right to read has to be considered a guaranteed right of every American child. Basic skills of reading and writing and computing are necessary for survival. Without them there can be no possibility of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And the minimum, basis objective of urban education must be to provide these skills to the extent that they can be measured and recorded by some standardized testing method. Additional goals and objectives are only meaningful as they build on a solid foundation of basic skills.

Now, what do we do to restructure a school system in the light of some of these observations? First, I think the task of an urban education system would be to involve more adults in the process. This can be done by making greater use of para-professionals, people from the community who can share in the routine of school life and who are there to love and discipline as well as to assist the teacher in individualized instruction. This should free the teacher to become more of a planner and trainer, and enable him or her to be more creative in meeting the needs -- the specific needs -- of the children.

I remember being in the Ocean-Hill Brownsville School District, at the height of their situation, and there was a school that had really been in total chaos, fraught with discipline problems, and there was a mother who just happened to weigh about two hundred (200) pounds, who was sitting in a rocking chair in the front door of the school; and whenever anybody came into that door, she just cut her eyes, and they quieted down. Now she didn't have a college degree, but she had a sense of authority from that community. She had a sense of respect and wisdom in that community, and she related that school process to the day-to-day community lives of those children. And they brought adults from that community into the school system in such capacities as men being

storytellers on a playground. Some of our men who have been driven out of jobs by automation could help. Even though they're fifty to sixty years old, these are the people who gave us our sense of values. We've got to find ways to structure people of this quality and character into our school system to provide adult nurture and attention that our children are so desperately need.

Two, the community itself must be brought into closer relationship to the classroom. The present effort in community schools and the proposed decentralization of our school system, which is being proposed by the Charter Commission, gives us an immediate opportunity to strengthen the community ties to public education.

The Charter Commission is proposing that there be six local school boards, and that those local school boards will have carefully defined and carefully determined roles and will participate in modifying the curriculum according to the neighborhood's needs. One school board has a tremendous difficulty trying to adapt a system for all of the diverse needs that our young people have in this area. Neighborhood school boards could do that.

Three, an urban education must be an integrated education. Our young people will live and work in an international community. Being able to relate comfortably to people of different colors and cultural backgrounds is an absolute necessity for success and survival in the 1980's.

But an integrated education involves a great deal more than simply integrating pupils. We must see to it that there is a continually integrated school board, that there be an integrated administration, that integrated school planning and construction takes place. We must make sure that integrated supervisory and training personnel, integrated faculty, integrated custodial staff, and finally . . . integrated classrooms.

When you have integration at every level, then your children are protected, and there's a commitment to integration, and integration is not something that's just given lip service, and the children have to suffer from the subtle and benign racism that exists amongst most people who have grown up and lived in America.

Once there is a realization that integration is really necessary for quality urban education, then an integrated administration can commit itself to that task, and a variety of methods may be used to achieve it.

The Downtown Learning Center in Atlanta, which was designed basically as an educational set-up largely for black high school dropouts, developed such creative teaching methods and learning techniques that white kids heard about it and they integrated it; and now the Downtown Learning Center is about fifty-fifty black and white.

We have a similar kind of situation in Atlanta Tech. Magnet schools such as this can attract an integrated student body. We ought to also have a similar foreign language center which will enable students to read, write and speak fluently in a foreign language. You know it's ridiculous that we spend so much time in school, and many of us had foreign language courses and yet, can't say a word. We forgot it as soon as we passed the test. You know if Berlitz can

teach an executive a language in thirty days, why can't some of those methods be brought into a modern foreign language center which would be a part of our school system. If that modern language center happened to be located on David T. Howard or Booker T. Washington, you wouldn't have any trouble . . . folks would find their way to get there. They would bus themselves, because they'd find something there that they wanted.

Integration as a part of an urban education emphasis is quite different from a consolidation of school systems which would put suburbanites in control of urban education.

Urban education is most likely to be developed by people who live in and love the city. It's hardly likely that a commuter is going to have much empathy with the life styles of urban children.

The same might be said for a new teacher coming out of the University of Georgia after growing up in Ludowici. We are far more likely to find good teachers from Atlanta University and Georgia State as we seek to build a more urban-oriented staff. It is important to preserve the racial balance in our faculty, but it's equally important that we have an overwhelming urban imbalance. That is, people who live in the city and who love the city, and people who are not just teaching in a neighborhood and running out of it as three o'clock comes. Now test scores and grades, and prestige diplomas can't always measure up to the demands of street-wise kids who come into the third grade with the equivalent of a masters degree in urbanology. They have lived for ten years what academicians have only studied for two or three years.

Somehow an education system has got to be developed that will meet those kids where they are; not the same old Dick and Jane jumpin' over the fence stuff, but here are hip street kids that really do know what's happening; and if you want to know what's going on in Atlanta, you know, don't ask those of us who are busy working, find a ten or twelve-year old on the block, and they can give you the sociological dynamics of that community. They can tell you where you can buy liquor after hours, they can tell you who's running the numbers, who's pushing dope, who's goin' with who, who runs who's business, and who's collecting the rent and paying the bills for everybody in the neighborhood. Now, when you get them with that kind of sophistication that's come from the streets and from television, and you put them in class, and you treat them like little children were twenty or thirty years ago, naturally they're going to get turned off and bored -- not because they're dumb, but because they are intelligent.

Teachers say sometimes that these kids can't learn. Well, they learn everything they want to learn. The Jackson Five comes out with a record and they don't hear it but two times and they got it down. Why can't there be some method of education that will enable them to learn their multiplication tables that same way? Early African cultures taught their culture in the dance; and still over in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, many of the skills that people need to learn to survive are taught through dances and folk games. Somehow I think an urban education system has got to reflect a little more of that kind of motion and rhythm which is characteristic of the life of these children.

But blacks really and truly are the nation's most authentic urban dwellers. You know, we grew up in the streets. We had a love affair with the streets even when we were on the farm, we were just pickin' cotton 'til Friday night and Saturday when we could get to town and see what's happenin'. Right now, no matter where people go, they still make their way to Auburn Avenue and Hunter Street, because they know that's where the college of life is taking place. Now people with this kind of urban sensitivity are most apt to be the ones to develop an urban education system. And black educators especially must self-consciously direct their attention to the challenge of urban education. There doesn't need to be any expert from the University of Georgia coming in to try to tell them about urban life -- especially when that expert from the University of Georgia has probably never lived in an urban environment. We've got to realize that the experts on urban life and urban education are already in our classrooms. They are already teaching, and they are already principals, and they are already administrators in this school system, and we've got to give them a free hand to develop the kind of education system that our children need.

That system must appreciate the special relevance of the black experience; and somehow offer from the black experience the kind of unique insights which both black and white children need.

Fourth, urban education must be a lot more physical, both in terms of exercise and in terms of work. You know we've complained about the days of the one-room school house . . . when you had to go out in back and chop the wood before you could sit down, and build up the heat in the fire before you could sit down and start getting your lessons; but there's some sense in those kinds of mechanical tasks related to public education. I think they are exceptionally important. I really don't believe I could have survived public education had it not been for the fact that it was during the war, and we could go down to the shop and as students we had an opportunity to make model airplanes two days a week. It was almost as if during the fifth, sixth and seventh grades, the only thing that I got out of school was the handicraft work, and the manual training which gave me a chance to get up out of that seat and move and do something physical. I think the mechanical tasks and training must be incorporated for all students at about the fourth grade -- simple wood work, auto mechanics, electronic skills, things which used to be learned from fathers and grandfathers, but are no longer learned that way. Children know a lot, but they can't do anything. Boys and girls need certain maintenance skills to make it in an urban setting. You know, a simple thing like what to do when you pull the iron cord out, you know, and the plug comes loose; or how to change a washer in a faucet . . . all of the maintenance tasks in an urban society are phenomenal; and most of them, you don't need to wait until you have a maintenance man to come fix it. A simple little bit of skill in urban maintenance would do a lot to relieve the tension that our young people face. This is true whether they plan to go to college or not. We've got to avoid distinctions and discrimination between academic and mechanical education. We also have to realize that kids who are going on to college and even getting their Ph.D.'s also need these mechanical skills.

Greater physical involvement in the schools is a necessity since a lot of the aggressions that now give vent to violence would find creative challenge, creative channels.

Now this is not meant to be an exhaustive description, it's merely trying to get us thinking about urban education. Educational ideas only become movements when the total community gets involved. We can't wait until an order comes down from the Board of the Superintendent's office; when it happens that way, the tendency is that the teachers pick up a new language, but they teach the same old way.

What's called for, I think, is a new determination, a new motivation, and a new dedication from the entire city.

And we've got to say that here in Atlanta, we are going to develop the best urban education system in America. Atlanta has been a leader for the South, but I think on this question, we've got to be a leader for the nation; and it really isn't helpful anymore for us to complain about what's going on. I think everybody knows that there's something wrong with public education, but I remember being in Chicago years ago when they worked two years to get rid of Willis, and bringing in what they thought was a modern, progressive liberal type educator, they found after three or four years of him, the same kind of lethargy and corruption still existed in that school system. It wasn't a matter of any one man. This is not Dr. Letson's system. It's not even the Board of Education's system. It's our school system; and somehow we've got to begin to talk and think and feel urban education; and develop in the city a kind of educational method that will enable our children to go into the world of 1980 where they will be doing business in Africa and Asia and Latin America. Jimmy Carter wasn't down in Latin America for his health. He was down there looking for trading opportunities which will flow out of Atlanta. Eastern Airlines isn't going to the Caribbean just for tourism, they're trying to think in terms of the potential trade relationships between America and especially Atlanta and places like Jamaica. These are the kinds of jobs that are going to be open to our children. But unless they can understand urban America, unless they can learn to get along with people of different colors and cultures right here and now, and unless they learn certain basic skills, no matter what we do with busing, or testing, or any other thing, we're not going to have the quality of education that we need.

So I hope that we can make urban education the watchword in America for the Third Century, and that we get about the business of developing that kind of system which will be relevant to our children in this tremendous urban country.

Congressman Andrew J. Young, Jr. (D-Ga.) is a founder and member of the Board of Directors of The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia. The first Black Southerner elected to Congress since Reconstruction, Representative Young is currently serving as Chairperson of the Advisory Council of The King Center. Congressman Young was a keynote speaker at the First Annual Institute on Non-violence In a Violent Society, co-sponsored by the NEA and The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center For Social Change, held in Atlanta, Georgia, July 26-30, 1976.

Discussion Panel - Session "D"

*"Community Involvement: A Needed Ingredient In
Understanding School Desegregation"*

" . . . Community involvement and the generation of community ideas for desegregation are important. Planning activities should be shared with the community. By getting input and involvement from various people in the community, we keep parents aware of what is going on and of how diligently teachers and administrators are pursuing their goals. When the senior administrative leadership will not take the lead and actively support school desegregation, the community is the next best hope for commitment and energy. All schools need active community constituencies for the new forms of education being generated. Only through involvement can committed portions of the community work to break down resistance and increase support for desegregation. Community leadership must then watchdog the whole process to make sure that whatever is planned does not become diluted and sabotaged as it slips from hand to hand within the existing hierarchy."

Many educators try to solve their management problems by keeping the community ignorant about what they are doing in the schools. One result of this posture is that both the community and the school system are systematically deprived of mutual resources and potential help. The school can enter into community affairs by championing positions on economic and legislative matters that support and improve desegregation efforts. The major difficulty seems to be how to enable teachers and the school system to see and use the community's members and agents as collaborators and potential helpers instead of a perennial enemies.

" . . . Ultimate integration through pluralistic redesign of our entire social structure involves everyone in every community. The responsiveness of the general population and the quality of leadership that surfaces will have an astounding impact on the shape of the cultural patterns that evolve. (In order that) the degree of change . . . required to successfully accomplish the goals of an integrated society (become a reality, involvement in the following innovative components of desegregation plans is a must:)

Principal's advisory committee (parents)
Task force on integration
School-community advisory groups at each school
High school community board
Parent advisory groups (E.S.E.A.)
Involvement of citizens' committees -- development of master plan
Organization of superintendent's parent advisory council. . . "

**The above excerpts was taken from Desegregation/Integration: Planning For School Change, NIA, 1974.*

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS' ROLE IN
PREPARING FOR A SMOOTH TRANSITION

Four weeks ago, some 50,000 Latinos, Whites and Blacks took to the streets of Boston behind their Mayor, their Governor, and a phalanx of civic leaders. They marched to put an end to the beatings and the hatred that exist in that city. Among the marchers was a college student who is quoted as saying: "This should have happened 2 years ago. Now it may be too late."

The tragedy of Boston, a city whose proud reputation is now in disrepute around the world, may well serve other cities. When conciliation specialists and mediators of my agency, the Community Relations Service, respond to communities requesting assistance to help implement a desegregation plan, they suggest, first of all that the community draw on the experience of other cities that are or have experienced the process.

We often suggest contacting certain people in Boston, among other cities, because much has been learned and a lot of good programming has been done here. However, we often get the reply: "Forget how it was done in Boston; tell us how it was done in Detroit."

It seems Americans have a new rallying cry. Instead of "Remember the Alamo" or "Remember Pearl Harbor," it is: "Let's not have another Boston."

Perhaps that rallying cry is what brought many of you to this conference. If it is, let's all say, "Thank you, Boston!"

Boston should not be made a whipping boy; the problem should not be viewed in terms of heroes and villains. To read the painless and the painful experiences with desegregation in terms of heroes and villains is to make an erroneous assessment. The problem lies in the complex web of the human condition--the interplay of ignorance, fear, anxiety, insecurity, racism, and civic leadership politics.

The seeds of turmoil are present in all cities. Whether they sprout and grow depends on the gardeners.

Let us say simply that in Boston the weeds got the jump on the gardeners. The problem got ahead of the solution, and it's always hard to play catch-up. Hopefully, the solution seekers here today are ahead of the problem. Once ahead, it's easier to stay ahead.

We are here today to learn by sharing experiences how community organizations can help their school districts desegregate without turmoil. Although we come from many places and possess varied backgrounds, we all have one or more of the following things in common:

Love of community
Concern for children
Respect for law
Realism

We all see desegregation down the road and know that, like it or not, it cannot be pushed aside or wished away. It will come with or without turmoil. The transition can be productive or destructive. We are here because we want to learn how to accentuate the productive and minimize the destructive potential.

Hopefully, this conference will produce, for the first time, a compilation of the body of knowledge contained in our collective experience. The Conference Report, which will record these experiences, will be published as soon as possible. But tomorrow could not be too soon.

I encourage that you take careful notes of what is said here and, also, who says it. When you return home you may want to phone for more details. A roster of attendees with addresses and telephone numbers will be distributed before the end of this conference. Also, feel free to call upon the regional offices of my agency, the CRS, or the National Center for Quality Integrated Education--called QIE--for technical assistance. Literature about these organizations is available right outside this auditorium. We'll help you, to the limit of our resources. If we can't help, maybe we'll be able to refer you to someone who can.

We're here today to find ways to prepare our communities for a smooth desegregation transition by organizing coalitions to realize this goal. This is a job, I'm sure most of you know, which requires patience.

In establishing a coalition we must begin with a recognition that a coalition can be a house of many mansions -- with some of them outside the house. In some cities the business community will be part of the inner council; in others it will be doing its own thing with a partial overlap. Some civil rights organizations will be included, others may believe they can better serve their advocacy role by staying out. Some coalitions are leagues of smaller coalitions.

In establishing your coalition, I suggest that you strive to make your cooperating network as inclusive as possible. Perhaps the hardest problem faced will be that of reaching out to the segment that is opposed to desegregation. The biggest mistake you could make in trying to establish your coalition would be to write off this segment as the enemy. This will only serve to enlarge the resistance to implementation.

Once the inevitability of desegregation is clear, it is possible to make common cause with some who would prefer the status quo but place top priority on the safety and well-being of children and respect of law. I urge that you make sure there is a place for them in your network.

In reaching out to the resistant community, a natural bridge just might be organized labor. Today, there are some who say that labor isn't playing as important a role as it could in this regard. It may be due in some cities to reluctance on the part of local labor leadership; it may also be due to insufficient efforts on the part of local coalition leadership to bring in local labor leadership.

However, in the past year, I know that AFL/CIO has been engaged in vigorous and productive efforts to encourage labor's involvement in working

for peaceful implementation of desegregation plans. This effort has enjoyed the personal leadership of Mr. Meany, whose special message you will hear later this morning. A film of his address will be available for use in your communities upon request. Several representatives of international unions and central labor councils are at this meeting to discuss ways to bring about a better fusion of effort.

Before discussing the role of coalitions, I want to say a word here about your franchise, which is your license to operate.

Some coalitions are slow to form because everyone is waiting for an investiture. They ask: "Who am I, the Chamber of Commerce?," "Who am I, the League of Women Voters?," "Who am I, the Metropolitan Church Council?" "Education is the responsibility of the school board. Public safety is handled by the police. Political leadership rests with the mayor -- and none of them has sought my help."

All true! But not true enough!

Your investiture must be self-determined. Your authority derives from an old American tradition of citizen responsibility and initiative. This self-investiture comes with the realization that desegregation in today's climate is too important to be left alone to the school board, the police chief, the mayor, and council. They need your help whether they know it or not. Let them have it whether they seek it or not.

Now that poses a very delicate responsibility for a self-ordained coalition; How to inspire, to coax, to insist, to help; how to avoid unwarranted intrusion; when to lead the officials leaders; how to give them support; how to convince them to make good use of you.

The appropriate role of the coalition is multifold. It requires service at many levels: to advocate policy in high places, and when necessary, to provide volunteers as hallway and bathroom monitors. It means orchestrating whatever community resources can be drawn upon for whatever jobs need to be done. This will vary with the community.

For example, in one city, the mayor's office and the school board may have collaborated to establish an effective rumor control and information center. In another, the coalition may have to sell the idea, blueprint its operation, and provide much of the staff.

Let me dwell on this one form of coalition service to illustrate what I mean by orchestration of resources.

What are the subjects on which the community needs education?

Well, first there is the law. What does the Constitution require? Why did the court rule as it did? What were its findings? Is its remedy consistent with the rulings of appellate courts and the Supreme Court? Was the Judge in error or would any Federal judge have arrived at a similar decision?

Enlist the Bar Association to prepare a statement answering these questions. Find a corporation to fund publication of the answers. Organize a

media committee to gain editorial endorsement of the statement. Organize a speakers bureau to interpret it to the community. Utilize your network of churches, neighborhood associations, service organizations to convene city-wide and neighborhood meetings to discuss it.

Do the same thing with regard to

- . features of the desegregation plan;
- . police and school plans for the safety of children;
- . the transportation plan; and
- . plans for maintaining and upgrading the quality of education

Coalitions should feel free to assure themselves that all involved agencies are doing whatever can be done to prepare for a smooth implementation. And you should seek community involvement in all appropriate aspects of that preparation.

Coalitions must ask themselves these questions--

Are the police and schools drawing contingency plans well in advance?

Are schools and police engaged in joint planning at city-wide and precinct levels?

Are both institutions offering inservice training to equip supervisors as well as rank-and-file for the special responsibilities and problems desegregation will require?

If the answer is no to all or even one of those questions, then they had better get to work.

Let's talk briefly about money. As we all know coalitions, like most organizations face a problem of funding. However, they usually struggle along in a variety of ways -- generally inadequately.

Local corporations, foundations, and church organizations sometimes provide seed money. Federal programs are another type of resource. ESAA funds from the U.S. Office of Education, unfortunately, become available too late -- only after a desegregation plan has been approved. Community preparation for desegregation should have begun long before them.

Within this room are experts who have learned about funding through hard experience. They will share that experience with you today.

A major role of the coalition is to play politics - small "p" politics. The best mayor in the world, the best school board member is no better than his ability to get elected or reelected. None of them can afford to play a losing hand. Work to make sure that wise leadership which resists turmoil is recognized as a winning hand.

Although many of you know how to do this much better than I, let me suggest just a few general approaches. Any elected official knows only two kinds of people: those he or she can count and those he or she can weigh.

Both are important. Deal with the heavy weights first--the people of influence--both downtown and in local neighborhoods. Reach out to them, bring them into your home and in local neighborhoods, encourage them to be seen and heard in support--on the platform, in print, behind the scenes.

Encourage them to use their influence. With regard to the general public, always keep in mind that the majority starts out on your side. Whatever their opinions on desegregation or busing, obeying the law is a central fiber of their self identity.

Remember that when good men are silent, and the loudest sounds one hears are the trumpets of resistance and discord, a bandwagon psychology takes hold. That's when the grass gets ahead of the gardener. It's important at the earliest opportunity that civic leaders and community organizations make clear to their respective constituencies and to the public at large that the ethos of your city -- the essence of our community -- is built around respect for law, concern for children, and practical reality in accomodating necessary change.

Coalitions should familiarize themselves with, and utilize, whatever resources are available--not the least of which is the Community Relations Service of the Justice department. For those of you who are not yet familiar with CRS, let me indicate briefly how we can be useful to you. We were created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help win voluntary compliance with civil rights law and to serve as the nation's race-relations trouble-shooter to help communities deal with group conflict. Our staff of 65--mostly veteran, mediators and conciliators--learned their trade from our agency's experience at such places as Selma, Watts, Boston, and Wounded Knee. More importantly, we have worked in literally thousands of cases affecting schools, helping school and community leaders solve problems -- where the problem never hit front page headlines because the story was peace, not conflict.

We have worked in scores of communities to bring about peaceful implementation of school desegregation plans. We work with organizations, coalitions, schools and police departments: we provide technical assistance through staff specialists and consultants, we facilitate exchanges of experience between communities, we provide training for police and school personnel, we help design police contingency plans and school security plans, we help in structuring rumor control and community information centers.

Our services are free; they may be triggered by a single telephone call at any time of the day or night to any of 10 regional offices scattered across the country.

Some of our regional offices will be carrying a peak case load this summer and fall. But we'll go to overload if necessary, because helping you to solve your disputes and difficulties is what our work is all about.

This address was given by Ben Holman, Director of the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice to the National Conference on Desegregation Without Turmoil, Washington, D.C., May 19, 1976.

Discussion Panel - Session "E"

*"Developing Desegregation
Support Groups In The Schools"*

" . . . Perhaps more than any other educational process, integration involves the whole school and all of its activities. It tests the effective functioning of the organization. Since integration pervades extracurricular as well as curricular activities, informal as well as formal interaction, unplanned as well as planned events, it requires close attention to organizational functioning. All members of the organization must understand and help to formulate their own roles and responsibilities.

Establish and communicate responsibilities for the participation of each staff member in the integration process.

Specific responsibilities are assignments, such as committee memberships, chairperson duties, sponsorship of student activities, and liaison duties. General responsibilities entail discussion and understanding of the effect of day-to-day activities of teaching, administering, advising, and disciplining on the success of integration. . . "

"Effective integration can be achieved only through actions -- ranging from complex programs to simple encounters. Actions that lead to effective integration are not random. They are characterized by foresight, by interaction, and by principle. . . A school in its own conduct can and should model the kinds of behaviors that it expects from students. An effectively integrated school will model, in small and large ways, the ideals of positive race relations: respect for members of all races, equality in influence and prestige, sensitivity to personal and cultural values, and cooperation in achieving shared goals.

There is ample evidence that people respond to and learn from models. In our own study, there were many examples of good and bad modeling and its effects. . . An important feature of modeling is to be found in the relationship of minority and majority staff members. This principle alone is enough to justify what may perhaps be our most important recommendations for effective integrated education:

Include the racial minority on the faculty and administrative staff. Make sure that staff members who are in minority groups have positions of status and prestige equal to those of the majority. Minority staff members should have authority and influence equal to, and perceived to be equal to, those of the majority.

. . . There are many opportunities when interacting with students, parents, community members, and staff to model respect and cooperation. To do so should be considered an important educational activity of the school. . . "

**The above excerpt was taken from A Handbook For Integrated Schooling, by Garlie A. Forehand and Marjorie Ragosta, Educational Testing Service, July 1976.*

Teacher Rights and School Desegregation

Because the courts and the government are still preoccupied with desegregation only on a quantitative basis, and federal enforcement practices still largely ignore the qualitative bases of school integration in terms of relationships among students, among school staff, among parents and community organizations. Among all these groups, the role of teacher associations in seeking means to protect the rights of students and teachers, to facilitate the maintenance of quality programs and educational stability, and to lead in eliminating discrimination and in expanding educational opportunities following desegregation is unique and vital. Other groups in education - school administrators, boards of education, colleges of education, state departments of education, and others - with their own roles to play are often ineffective or act in contrary ways because of their own special interests and priorities.

Teacher associations have usually been strong supporters of the goals of school integration and of the improvement of school programs. Occasionally, however, they become embittered because of manipulations or violations of their rights by school administrations and school boards. Several examples may help to make this point:

1. When Indianapolis faced a desegregation order a couple of years ago, the Board let it be known that 600 teaching jobs would be abolished if the court order was implemented. Similar layoffs or dismissals have coincidentally occurred at the same time in a number of desegregating urban districts.
2. In Stockton, California, the former superintendent refused to allow teachers to serve on a desegregation advisory committee, claiming in a public meeting of the Board of Education that teachers are "contaminants" in the desegregation process.
3. In another Midwestern city, the Board put pressure on the teacher association to join in fighting the court order for desegregation. When teacher leaders refused, the school administration worked behind the scenes to organize a backlash group of teachers, which received funds under the table to join in the court case. This case was referred to the Justice Department.

Remarks by Dr. Boyd Bosma, Teacher Rights, National Education Association, prepared for the Conference on Integration Crisis Prevention/Intervention, Los Angeles, California, October 22-23, 1976, sponsored by the Institute for Teacher Leadership, a joint project of the United Teachers of Los Angeles and California State University, Fullerton.

4. Los Angeles and a number of other cities have lost significant amounts of money under the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA), designed to assist school districts undergoing displacement, because of improper faculty assignment practices. When HEW has moved to enforce ESAA requirements for correcting faculty imbalance, planning in these cities has often been hasty and actions have been ill-considered, arbitrary, and violative of existing negotiation rights.
5. Buffalo teachers went on strike this year after the Board refused to negotiate an acceptable contract. When 700 teachers were laid off in September, teachers were told the only source for money to replace the lost positions would be with an emergency grant under ESAA, which previously had been taken away from the district because of continuing faculty discrimination.
6. Racine, Wisconsin, last year had a highly successful experience in the implementation of its desegregation plan. Almost all of the factors for success had been present. Plans had been underway for seven years, actual steps leading to implementation had gone on for three years, community leaders and organizations (including teachers) were supportive, an innovative alternative school program was in place, and community-based coalitions were in operation. No significant incident occurred. Despite the apparent success of the program, however, the rights of teachers had been overlooked and ignored, and nearly 30 major grievances resulted when faculty desegregation was implemented as part of the total desegregation plan.

Other problems for teachers have been associated with desegregation in countless other school districts. The fact is that it is not at all uncommon for desegregation advocates, public authorities, and school officials to forget that teachers do have vital roles in the desegregation process. They are the front line in contacts with students and parents. They make crucial decisions in their own classrooms affecting the educational and emotional welfare of every student. Their skills and attitudes are instrumental in decisions affecting the quality of education for children. At the same time, teachers are virtually powerless in many school districts, while remaining available as convenient scapegoats, in affecting decisions relating to class sizes, student assignments, textbooks, distribution of educational and financial resources, inservice education programs, community and parent involvement, building construction and renovation, curriculum organization, and numerous other issues directly affecting the quality of education available in the classroom.

The facts are that teachers are an intrinsic part of the process, that discrimination in student assignments has invariably been accompanied by discrimination in teacher assignments, and that student desegregation is invariably accompanied or preceded by teacher desegregation. Because teachers are employees, it is too often assumed that they can simply and arbitrarily be reassigned without regard to contractual rights, personal convenience or hardship, or other individual or group needs.

The sorriest part of the whole process as it has affected teachers to date is, fortunately, largely over. The years between 1965 and 1972 saw massive dismissals of thousands of Black teachers and the virtual genocide of Black high school principals as desegregation progressed across the South.

Although no accurate record is possible for the numbers of actual dismissals which took place (NEA estimates between 5,000 and 20,000), the greatest losses probably occurred through the failure to hire minority teachers in desegregated schools. Using data available from the HEW Office for Civil Rights, we were able to calculate a loss of more than 31,000 teaching positions by 1970-71 which otherwise would have been held by Black teachers, representing a salary loss to Black communities in the South during this period of more than a quarter billion dollars per year. By 1972-73, only two years later, the deficit in Black teaching positions was more than 39,000. Because adequate data on teachers has not been available since that time, when EEOC took over data collection on employment statistics, it has not been possible to accurately determine how much further erosion has taken place as the result of teacher displacement and dismissals in presumably desegregated school districts.

In comparing Black and White pupil-teacher ratios for 1972-73, however, we do know that such displacement occurred in every district with more than 25,000 students. The end result of the process of minority teacher and principal dismissal was that in many communities minority students were attending "White" schools rather than desegregated schools as the law required. Further, in the absence of programs or legal requirements which dealt effectively with the consequences of racial isolation of White as well as of Black students, desegregation for many came to mean a number of things inconsistent with the hopes engendered in 1954; one-way busing of Black students and the closing of Black schools; the elimination of Black symbols, trophies, awards, pictures, and heroes; the demotion or dismissal of Black authority figures, including teachers, principals, coaches, band instructors, counselors, and others; and a broad range of retaliatory actions against Black students and educators (Black or White) in those communities who had sought change either ran for cover or lost their jobs.

The National Teacher Examination also became a factor in the hiring, dismissal, promotion, or retention of thousands of teachers during this period. By 1972, using reports of the Educational Testing Service, more than 9% of school districts receiving or requiring NTE scores were in the 17 states covered by the Brown decision (1656 districts were in the 11 states of the old Confederacy, 15 in border states, and 52 in the North and West). As the pattern of desegregation spread, the pattern of NTE usage followed.

As school desegregation has come to dozens of school districts outside the South in recent years, it has been possible to utilize previous experience even as new problems for teachers have been identified. The rules are clearer now, even while new priorities are being identified. Clearer legal guidelines have been developed, and, although these are seldom fully applied in districts coming under either court or HEW orders, it is possible to move more effectively in achieving the goals of protecting rights of students and teachers, maintaining quality education, and extending equal educational opportunities.

The NEA School Desegregation Guidelines for Local and State Education Associations, adopted in February, 1974, were designed to identify a number of principles and guidelines in developing local association strategies in school desegregation and integration. It is not necessary to review these in detail here, but it is important to stress that our experience has consistently demonstrated that one principle should be clearly understood: In the few cases where teacher groups ignore or actively oppose progress toward desegregation, the results are invariably seen in increased divisiveness within the school and community, increased discipline and morale problems, decline in educational quality, and violations of hard-won teacher rights. In those circumstances where teacher associations act aggressively and affirmatively, their leadership role as a force for improvement of school conditions is usually enhanced, teacher and student rights are more likely to be protected, desegregation implementation is generally more successful, and teachers win greater respect within the total community. Teacher associations are often unique in their ability to bring together broad segments of the community to work toward common goals of effective implementation of desegregation plans and maintenance of good learning conditions in the schools.

Current desegregation enforcement by the courts, HEW, and some of the states is creating difficult problems, however, in a number of districts. Correction of these problems should not be exceedingly difficult, and we do agree that discriminatory hiring and assignment practices on the basis of racial or ethnic identification are inappropriate and should be corrected in the earliest possible time.

The major problem stems in part from the early 1970's when many districts sought to recruit and place additional numbers of minority teachers in schools with larger proportions of minority students. The result of these practices, however, has been to increase the segregation of students and teachers and to avoid opportunities to reduce racial and ethnic isolation in the schools. In effect, "dual" or even "triple" school systems have been created which are not totally different in their social or educational impact from the illegal dual systems in the South prior to the Brown decision. The courts and HEW are correct in seeking measures to stem such further faculty segregation in urban school systems.

The primary process for identification of such faculty imbalance is to utilize available statistics in determining whether concentrations of minority teachers are found only in schools with concentrations of minority students. If such relationships are found, the indication is that there may have been illegal faculty assignment practices, thereby triggering enforcement under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to end any illegal faculty imbalance. Unfortunately, discrimination in student assignments is not as easily established, and the result therefore often is that teachers are desegregated long before the district moves effectively to end student segregation. We then find schools in the barrios and inner cities remaining substantially segregated on the basis of student assignments, while large numbers of minority teachers are abruptly transferred away from the minority schools and are often replaced by inexperienced non-minority teachers, thereby disrupting school faculties and the continuity of educational programs. In addition, discrimination in assignments involving other employee groups, such as principles or central office personnel, is seldom enforced by HEW.

Several court decisions have affected this development. The first of major importance was Montgomery v. Carr in the 1960s, which required substantially equal proportions of minority teachers in all buildings in a school district to end racial imbalance in faculty assignments. The current interpretation of this case usually is that school districts may not have a deviation of more than five percent of minority teachers in any building above or below the proportion of minority teachers in the district as a whole. Usually teachers in special programs affecting minority students, such as teachers in a bilingual center, are excused from transfer.

An example of how this works is as follows: School X has proportions of 90% for minority students and 60% for minority teachers, largely as a result of an affirmative action hiring plan begun in 1972, with minority teachers assigned to schools with minority student populations. The district proportions, however, are 15% for minority teachers and 30% for minority students. Because of Board opposition to busing, the student proportion is likely to remain the same, but under federal standards the school may no longer have more than 20% minority faculty (15% plus 5%), thereby necessitating the immediate transfer of two thirds of all the minority teachers in the building (who comprise 40% of the teaching staff). Some of these teachers will have had substantial teaching experience, but unless the court order or HEW agreement stipulates otherwise, the district may be free to replace them with new or first-year teachers.

In 1974, several cities lost ESAA funds (Los Angeles, for example, lost \$4.8 million) after the courts ruled in Kelsey v. Weinberger "that racially identifiable public school faculties as well as policies and practices of racially discriminatory teacher assignments must have 'ceased to exist' prior to any administrative waiver of ineligibility for benefits under the Act." In other words, HEW could no longer provide ESAA money to districts where faculty imbalance was a factor.

At about the same time, Adams v. Richardson required HEW to complete enforcement in nearly 200 districts covered by the original Brown decision. Subsequently, a 1975 decision in Brown v. Weinberger (now Brown v. Mathews) required HEW to follow through on Title VI enforcement leading to cutoff of all federal funds in instances of violations coming to their attention. As a result about 25 school districts last year triggered their own Title VI actions by applying for ESAA funds despite remaining illegal faculty imbalance. When HEW monitored the applications, as required under law, the violations came to light and full-scale enforcement was mandated. Districts were now subject to potential huge cutoffs of Title I and other funds, not just the smaller ESAA appropriations. HEW, required by the courts to clear the dockets on civil rights violations in the schools, began to move on the faculty cases, triggering situations such as that cited for School X. Students in such situations remain unaffected until rulings come down on private cases, some of which have been in the courts for six years or more, because of HEW policy not to proceed in Title VI violations while complaints are before the courts.

Prior to the Kelsey decision, HEW required school districts such as Los Angeles to meet the following conditions in applying for waivers of ineligibility under ESAA:

1. Adoption of a policy of non-discriminatory assignment of faculty and staff members.
2. Determination of all future faculty and staff assignments so as not to contribute to or reinforce the racial or ethnic identifiability of any school.
3. Adoption of a plan to eliminate all full-time teaching faculties composed exclusively of members of a single racial group.
4. Adoption of a plan to eliminate all racially or ethnically identifiable faculties within a reasonable period of time.
5. Adoption of a plan of affirmative action to increase the percentage of minority group teachers.

Perhaps understandably, HEW officials are often reluctant to be accused of undue interference in local school matters as minimal compliance is achieved. This is unfortunate in many ways because school districts which have followed policies resulting discrimination over a period of many years are left free to continue discrimination or to conspire to defeat the effective working of a desegregation plan while meeting the minimum numerical requirements required by HEW, itself under court order. The same, unfortunately, is true for many court orders which deal with those conditions necessary to bring about minimal desegregation, but ignore the many factors necessary to achieve optimal integration or to prevent resegregation. Some of the conditions which should exist in school districts undergoing desegregation are:

1. Effective plans for teacher involvement and input in planning on a broad basis.
2. Clearly written and mutually agreed on policies on teacher and student rights - and responsibilities.
3. Workable negotiations procedures and teacher contracts.
4. Community involvement with teachers and administrators through broad-based advisory committees and community coalitions.
5. Cooperative plans for teacher (and administrator) inservice training on desegregation-related issues.
6. Cooperatively negotiated policies and procedures affecting both voluntary and involuntary teacher transfers and reassignments.
7. Effective procedures for minority involvement at all levels of planning and implementation.

Enforcement standards for desegregation vary from one HEW region or court district to another. While this has advantages in some cases, it has complicated assistance efforts because of the varying standards. HEW has required plans in some parts of the country to include provisions such as the following, which while not fully satisfactory, at least are better than merely requiring open-ended numerical goals:

1. A plan by which teachers will be assigned so that the percentage of minority teachers at each elementary or secondary school will approximate within five percent the percentage of minority group elementary or secondary teachers in the districts by a specific date, usually the beginning of the next school year, and specifications of the procedures by which the goal will be achieved.
2. A provision that no teacher will be reassigned to a position for which he or she is not qualified.
3. A provision that no reassignment of any certificated staff member is accompanied by demotion or loss of salary.
4. A provision that the qualifications of teachers will be considered when making reassignments so that the availability of equal educational opportunities is substantially the same in all schools, on the basis that the assignment of less-qualified teachers disproportionately to predominantly minority group schools would constitute a denial of equal educational opportunity prohibited by Title VI.

5. An assurance that the district will maintain nondiscriminatory recruitment, hiring, and assignment practices.
6. A provision for the continued monitoring of staff assignments, so that individual school staffs will reflect any changes which might occur each year in the racial or ethnic composition of the total staff of the district.

Such standards should be uniform in all districts when faculty desegregation is required, in order that some level of predictability can permit initiation of effective planning. If such orders or negotiated agreements went further, such as reviewing the quality of plans for teacher input, for inservice education, or for maintenance of the integrity of the representation process, it would be better.

Affirmative action plans are a necessary corollary to effective desegregation planning. Aside from the obvious issues of educational equity, affirmative action should be promoted for the following reasons:

1. There may be a possibility of reducing future numbers of involuntary transfers, which almost always impact minority teachers much more than non-minority teachers.
2. There are increased opportunities to retain teachers in their present assignments or specialties.
3. There are increased opportunities to permit teachers voluntarily or involuntarily transferred to be reassigned to schools of their choice.
4. There appears to be a significant relationship between the ratio of minority faculty to minority student populations and such issues as student achievement, teacher and student morale, cultural and linguistic relevance, and reduction of problems in discipline, disruption, vandalism, and other anti-school activities.
5. It is often necessary as part of desegregation plans to remedy previous discrimination in hiring and employment.

Discussion Panel - Session "F"

*"The Role Of The Church
In School Desegregation"*

It should come as no surprise that the church has taken an active role in working for the maintenance of a peaceful climate of cooperation and respect whenever the desegregation plan to eliminate racial insulation and isolation in Columbus is implemented. In almost every school district where desegregation has been accomplished without violence, there have been dedicated people of the cloth working diligently behind the scenes to accomplish what so many thought to be an impossible task.

It might even be thought an ironic twist of Fate that one of the most traditional institutions -- the church -- has moved to embrace the most important of all ecumenical concerns, man's humanity to man. If we can find somewhere in this effort a rationale for being our brother's keeper, we will not have to be as concerned as we have been in the past about violence or the intrinsic worth of the individual.

Perhaps the role of the church can best be illustrated by the words of one man who was surely inspired by a Supreme Being to quote these lines:

" . . . I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal.'

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. . .

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, and rough places will be made plains, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. . . "

*Italicised excerpts from I Have A Dream by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
August 28, 1963.*

METROPOLITAN CHURCHES UNITED AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

On September 2, 1976, in accordance with a court-ordered Desegregation Plan, the Dayton Public Schools opened peacefully and experienced the smoothest school beginning in recent history.

Ben Holman, Director, Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, in speaking of the Dayton experience was quoted in the October 26, 1976 issue of the Journal Herald, "What you did here was the most significant and relevant example of peaceful school desegregation in the nation."

How did it happen? Why in Dayton and not in other cities? The consensus is that even though there may never be a conclusive answer, the cooperative effort of the entire community in striving for peaceful implementation was an important factor in the process.

A report issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, an independent bi-partisan fact finding agency, after a 10 month national study of school desegregation, stressed the importance of local involvement in planning for desegregation.

Desegregation, in the cities where it was successful, did not happen by chance. The most important ingredient in the desegregation process was leadership -- leadership that supported the constitutional imperative for desegregation. The Commission report indicated that where positive leadership was exercised, desegregation was more likely to be achieved with minimal difficulty. Where leadership was lacking, confusion, anxiety and disruption was far more likely the result.

The Commission further stated the actions of law enforcement officers, the religious community, the business community, higher education leaders and the news media were also of major importance for the outcome of desegregation.

As a part of the total Dayton community, Metropolitan Churches United and the religious community played very significant roles in preparing the community for a peaceful beginning of the 1976 school year.

This report will discuss the various roles in which the religious community provided leadership in the successful implementation of the desegregation process.

Why is the religious community so concerned with public education and why did it become involved with such an emotional issue as "desegregation"?

Historically, both in Europe and the United States, religious communities have had a vital interest in education. Educational institutions were almost always created and operated by the religious communities.

Our Judeo-Christian beliefs and traditions have always placed a strong emphasis upon the dignity and worth of every individual. Created in the image of God, every person has a fundamental worth in the eyes of the Creator and therefore should be treated with respect and dignity. The Judeo-Christian traditions draw from this is a commitment to equal educational opportunity for each individual and the maximum development of each person's capabilities.

Since 1970, Metropolitan Churches United has been active in studying and supporting educational issues. Some of the major actions include:

1. 1971 -- supported the Dayton Board of Education plan to desegregate the teaching and administrative staff.
2. 1972 -- supported the graduated state income tax that provided more funds for education.
3. 1973 -- developed a questionnaire and published the views of all school board candidates on 10 educational issues on enable voters to be better informed for the 1973 Dayton School Board elections.
4. 1974 -- called on the Dayton Board of Education to open the desegregation planning process to community participation.
5. 1975 -- sponsored a Seminar to inform clergy about the history of Dayton school segregation policies and practices, the constitutional basis and court rulings on equal educational opportunity, the moral issues involved and how religious leaders in Indianapolis, Indiana responded positively to school desegregation.
6. Continued an ongoing study and maintained linkages with religious groups in other communities involved with the desegregation process.

On September 19, 1975, the Board of Directors authorized the formation of an Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation. This action was taken two (2) hours before the tragic assassination of Dr. Charles Glatt, the U.S. Federal Court appointed expert witness to design the Desegregation Plan. The Task Force was organized in December, 1975 and included 29 members representing 17 religious organizations.

Metropolitan Churches United, speaking to and working with the Churches and community through the Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation, adopted the following goals on March 8, 1976:

- A. The Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation shall work toward the prevention of violence as the desegregation plan is implemented.
- B. The Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation shall assist in the building of a community-wide coalition committed to peaceful change.
- C. The Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation shall enlist the religious community in maintaining peace.
- D. The Interfaith Task Force on School Desegregation shall equip lay persons and clergy to speak and act knowledgeably and effectively in relation to both the moral issues and the practical dimensions of the desegregation plan.

The Interfaith Task Force and Metropolitan Churches United staff performed a number of different tasks and participated with many groups and individuals, locally and nationally, in developing strategy to accomplish the above goals.

Some of the tasks included:

- A. Planning and directing meetings and seminars
- B. Interpreting and communicating information
- C. Recommending and evaluating courses of action
- D. Providing linkages between divergent groups
- E. Identifying resources
- F. Recruiting volunteers and providing training

The activities of the Interfaith Task Force involvement have been combined into five (5) categories:

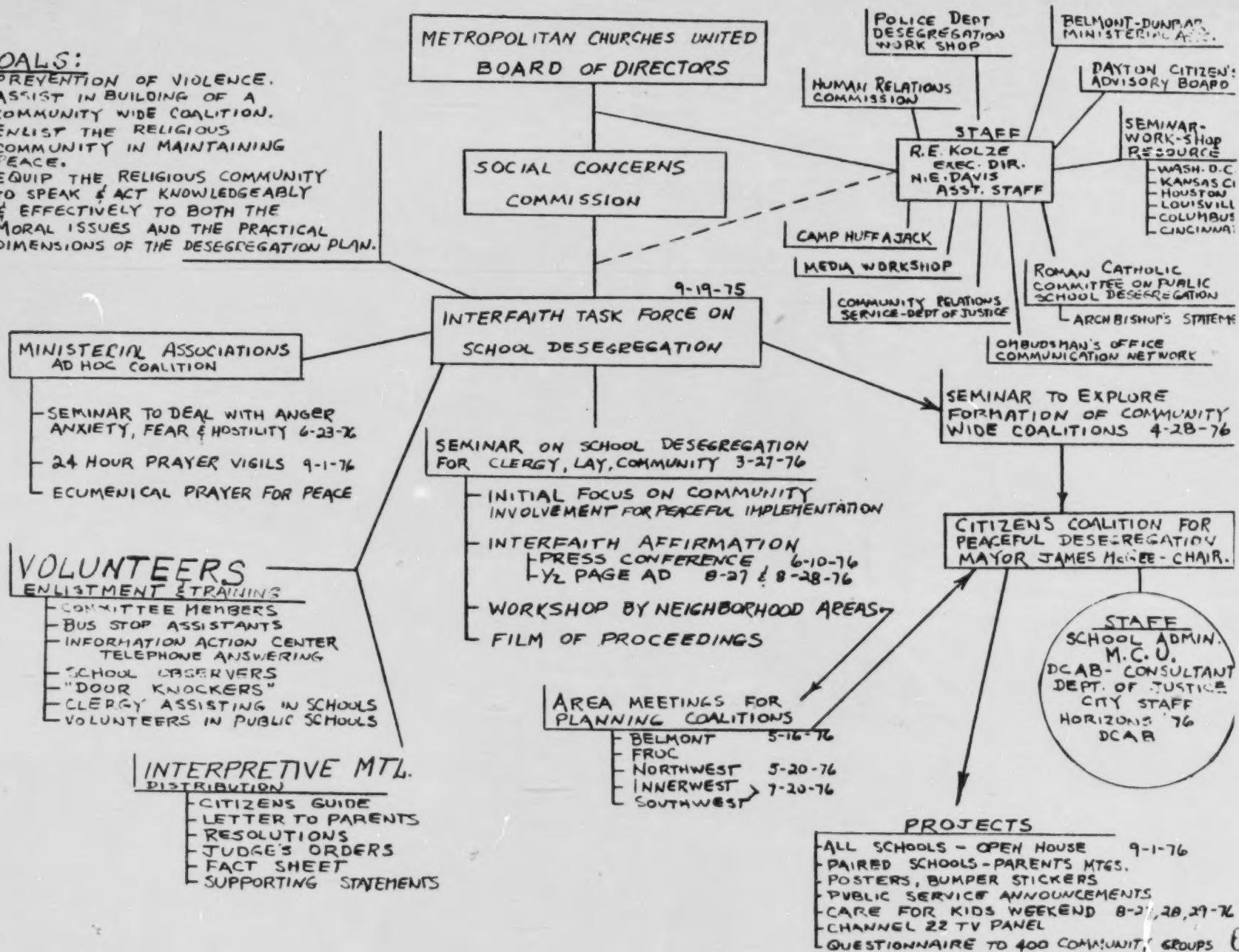
1. Seminar on School Desegregation - March 27, 1976.
2. Citizens Coalition for Peaceful Desegregation - Mayor James H. McGee, Chairperson.
3. Ministerial Associations, Ad Hoc Coalition events.
4. Resource and Communication Linkages.
5. Volunteers enlistment and training.

The chart on the next page graphically illustrates the relationships of the various groups and activities that were involved with implementing the desegregation process.

A more detailed description of the various activities of the Interfaith Task Force follows the chart.

GOALS:

1. PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE.
2. ASSIST IN BUILDING OF A COMMUNITY WIDE COALITION.
3. ENLIST THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN MAINTAINING PEACE.
4. EQUIP THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY TO SPEAK & ACT KNOWLEDGEABLY & EFFECTIVELY TO BOTH THE MORAL ISSUES AND THE PRACTICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE DESEGREGATION PLAN.



1). The Seminar on Peaceful Desegregation - March 27, 1976 - The Seminar, sponsored by the Task Force, stands out as having had the earliest and possibly the greatest single impact for peacefully implementing the Dayton school desegregation plans. The Seminar was able to inform and sensitize religious and other community leaders to what the needs would be.

The Seminar was designed for clergy and lay persons from congregations, denominations and other religious bodies and a broad range of elected officials and leaders of community organizations in the Dayton metropolitan area. Approximately 250 people attended.

The objectives of the Seminar were to provide:

- A. factual information regarding the status of the Dayton Public School Desegregation Plan.
- B. techniques other communities utilized in preparing for peaceful implementation.
- C. opportunities for community involvement in the peaceful implementation of the Dayton Plan as ordered by the Federal District Court.

There were a number of significant items that came out of the Seminar. The message that was brought to Dayton by Detroit School Superintendent, Arthur Jefferson, and others was that the entire community leadership had to be dedicated to peaceful implementation and that it was not possible for anyone to tell Dayton what to do and how to do it. The Dayton Community had to identify its own resources and had to get them activated.

The Seminar timing was important. Three days before the Seminar, the details of the Dayton Desegregation Plan and Order were released and this was the first effort to stress community involvement in support of the Dayton School Administration in implementing the plan. The Seminar focused on the preparation for peaceful desegregation and stressed the positive steps that were successful in Detroit rather than dwelling on what did not succeed or what should have been done in cities like Louisville and Boston.

During the workshop sessions, and Interfaith Affirmation, which was written by the Interfaith Task Force, was introduced and strategy for utilizing it was presented. The strategy was to take the statement to the congregations and many various religious groups for discussion and signatures.

The statement, which said in part, "pledge ourselves and call upon others to pledge themselves to pursue and support peaceful measures," was a very effective instrument for bringing the school desegregation concern before a congregation or a group, and directing the discussion toward peace and concern for children.

A Press Conference was held on June 10, 1976, at the Otterbein United Methodist Church where representatives from the 50 religious groups, who had affirmed the statement, had a symbolic signing of the statement. Mr. John Maxwell, Superintendent of the Dayton Schools was present and received the Interfaith Affirmation Statement and a list of the signers and expressed thanks for the religious community support.

The final step of the strategy was to purchase a half page ad in the August 30 Dayton Daily News, the August 31 Dayton Journal Herald and the September 1 Dayton Black Press. The ad listed the 101 organizations who had signed the Statement by that time. The ad was underwritten with contributions from those who signed.

Another significant feature of the Seminar was an opportunity for the participants to meet in a workshop atmosphere by neighborhood areas. The workshop enabled participants living in the same area to become acquainted and to be able to identify area resources, positive and negative influences, other groups or individuals who should be involved and neighborhood goals and follow-up tasks. The individuals identified and the information developed during the workshop eventually became an integral part of the Citizens Coalition for Peaceful Desegregation.

2). Citizens Coalition for Peaceful Desegregation - The religious community was involved in a number of significant events toward the formation of a city-wide coalition announced and chaired by Mayor James H. McGee on July 27, 1976.

At a Seminar in July, 1975, Dr. Charles Glatt shared with the Dayton religious community, a model of a coalition that had been successful in a number of other communities.

The participants at the March 27, 1976 Seminar meeting by neighborhood areas during the workshop explored the potential for forming neighborhood coalitions as previously outlined by Dr. Glatt. These groups subsequently proceeded to form ad hoc coalitions in the Southeast, Northwest, FROC, Inner West and Southwest areas and became very active participants with the Citizens Coalition.

The final planning event that was effective in organizing the coalition was "A Consultation on School Desegregation - Roles of Community Organizations and Agencies" held on April 28, 1976.

Metropolitan Churches United was the initiator and co-sponsor of the event. The participants included many community and business leaders of various groups active at that time in the implementation process.

Mr. Don Shire, Executive Director, National Center for Quality Integrated Education, Washington, D.C., was the main speaker. The Consultation participants formed a Steering Committee to identify other groups and resources who, together with the active ad hoc groups, formed the "Citizens Coalition for Peaceful Desegregation."

Mayor James H. McGee appealed to the Dayton community for peaceful implementation of the School Desegregation Plan and committed the Citizens Coalition to achieving that goal. The Citizens Coalition consisted of seven neighborhood coalitions corresponding to the model cities Priority Board areas with Priority Board chairpersons serving as a steering committee.

A staff team, including the staff from Metropolitan Churches United, met weekly during the Summer to develop plans, share information, coordinate approaches, develop new ideas and keep the lines of communication open between the various citizen groups, active in the implementation process, and the School Administration.

Discussion Panel - Session "G"

*"Staff Development and Inservice
Training For Desegregated Settings"*

"Americans are coming into greater contact with other peoples. No longer number one producer in the global economic market, the United States now has to learn the ways of other countries if it is to compete successfully both at home and abroad. Furthermore, three fourths of the world's population is not White, which means that White Americans have the dual task of developing positive attitudes toward different races and toward different nationalities. And in their domestic work worlds, individual Americans are having to re-evaluate former concepts of race. Increasingly, it is becoming evident that the indulgence of believing in racial superiority is economically prohibitive and politically naive. . . "

This excerpt, taken from NEA's publication, The Teacher and Integration, by Gertrude Noar points out the need for preservice and inservice programs for those educators who fail to see how economically prohibitive or politically naive institutionalized forms of racism really are. The forces that perpetuate the status quo are often so subtle in feeding us our daily fare of racism, sexism, and social classism that we defend the very forces that seek to deprive us of the many rights and privileges that we should constitutionally enjoy.

We hear time and time again that we live in a pluralistic society where the ideology of the "melting pot ethic" is fast giving way to something called the "salad bowl ethic" where all ethnic and racial groups can retain their own identity and give flavor and uniqueness to society as a whole. What that means for most of us who have grown up and who have been educated in racially insulated and isolated social environments is a new orientation to the new pluralism being wrought by civil rights legislation and federal court mandates. It is in this context that the need for greater emphasis for staff development and inservice training has evolved.

Once we begin to consider how we have come to understand the world in which we live, and particularly those parts of it which concern ourselves and our relations with other people, we start to notice how much we depend upon concepts that have been "handed down" to us by members of our own family or through experiences that we have had. If we analyze how we come to know of one race of people different from ourselves, we have to accept the fact that in most cases, we have learned about them from members of our own race. Now if those members of our own race were wrong in the way in which they perceived members of that "other" race, chances are that a stereotype has been perpetuated without having been tested. Inservice can help to dispel some of the anxiety surrounding stereotypes that have been formed this way and when implementing a desegregation plan, all the so-called "stereotypes" ought to be tested and finally "put to rest."

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS AND TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS IN METROPOLITAN DESEGREGATION

While teachers and teacher associations have generally given consistent support to desegregation efforts and the quest for equal educational opportunity, increasing questions are being asked as desegregation continues. Because teachers essentially serve on the front lines in dealing with boards of education, school administrators, parents, and students, they are acutely conscious of problems affecting educational quality and the rights of students and themselves as desegregation is implemented.

Although many of the problems affecting teachers which arise in metropolitan desegregation are much the same as those found in single-district desegregation situations, there are new problems. All of them, new or not, tend to be more severe, especially in situations which have been characterized by extended confrontation, controversy, and little planning for constructive change across the involved communities. Teachers are affected directly by almost every decision made in the desegregation process, but all too often are ignored or treated as though they have no legitimate interest in what happens in their schools. In particular, teachers play a primary role in determining whether or not quality education will exist in desegregated/integrated schools. Their morale, their support for positive change are essential ingredients in bringing into reality the promises implied in all of our efforts to bring about quality integrated education in our nation's schools.

Problems associated with desegregation/integration generally fall within three major categories: rights issues, quality education and equal opportunity, and teacher associations have learned to build their own strategies accordingly. The protection of the rights of all concerned is a fundamental precept if desegregation is to fulfill its promise; teachers are particularly concerned that good educational programs and stable schools prevail after desegregation is implemented; and the provision of equal educational opportunity, with the removal of all vestiges of discrimination, is so obvious a condition of good education that it is surprising it must still be stated. The attainment of any of these three conditions requires the attainment of the others; they are inextricably interrelated and interdependent.

At the same time, desegregation in too many districts is characterized by problems within the three categories:

Teacher rights

- Violations of negotiated contracts
- Arbitrary and unfair discipline policies
- Removal of experienced, qualified teachers from minority schools with replacements by inexperienced staff
- Unilateral transfer and reassignment policies
- Dismissals and/or displacement of teachers and principals
- Disruption of building faculties and ongoing programs
- Denial of teacher and student input in planning and decision-making
- Inadequate inservice programs imposed by school administrators without consideration of teacher needs and priorities

Organizational disruption within teacher associations
Lowered teacher and student morale
Isolation of minority teachers in schools with few or no minority students

Quality education

Lack of adequate curriculum planning or consideration of educational needs of changing or diverse student populations
Disruption of ongoing programs meeting needs of minority students, and most noticeably in bilingual/bicultural education
Irrelevant and unrewarding inservice programs (or none at all)
Failure to take advantage of opportunities for cooperative planning among students, teachers, parents, and community representatives
Lack of effective community/parent/student/teacher input
Failure to apply for or utilize ESAA and other funds to benefit minority and nonminority children

Equal educational opportunity

Staking out of "territories" in newly desegregated schools, "ownership" problems lead to conflict and violence
Loss of after-school activities, clubs, sports, proms, social events
Continuing discrimination and unequal treatment in desegregated schools
Inadequate or inappropriate textbooks and other learning materials;
inadequate curriculums
Lack of preparation of minority and nonminority students and teachers to work together
Continuing problems with discipline and disruption

The experiences of teachers in Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky, provide a number of prime examples of problems which can affect the quality of education in metropolitan desegregation situations. The following items were taken from a much longer list given to me by a Jefferson County teacher this past weekend. Although she remains a staunch supporter of integration, she feels, as I do, that these conditions were unnecessary and contributed to disruption in many schools:

1. During the years desegregation was bouncing around the courts, no contingency plans were prepared.
2. There was an extremely short time span between the action of the state to merge the districts in April and students reassignments in September.
3. Staff in both city and county schools had little or no idea of policies, procedures, or even names of these put in charge of various operations.
4. City and county teacher associations faced their own merger problems.
5. There were no inservice programs to acquaint teachers with problems they would be facing in the fall.
6. Assignments waited until the last minute; calls informing teachers of their assignments were made up to the night before school opened. Mailed notices were often smeared, illegible, and incorrect.
7. Misassignments proliferated, the computer was not programmed to include seniority information; new hires were placed in slots ahead of teachers returning from leave. In some schools, all of the minority teachers were reassigned, and the return of some had to be demanded.
8. When school opened and the anti-bussers boycotted and protested, teachers were threatened. Administrators told teachers if they did not like their assignments they could be replaced.

9. Inconsistency in discipline policies and arbitrary actions by building principals soon resulted in abnormally high suspension rates, primarily of minority students.

Problems in Jefferson County have continued through the fall of 1976 and to the present. In December, a two-week teacher strike finally brought together the former city and county teachers, perhaps the single most positive action involving teachers since desegregation began. It is regrettable that teacher unity had not been achieved without the strike, but a brief summary of a few other situations may help explain why matters can come to such a course:

1. Racine, Wisconsin, had an excellent desegregation experience two years ago, except for numerous arbitrary violations of teacher contract provisions. The teachers had planned to forego protests of the violations in the interest of a successful desegregation experience.
2. Indianapolis teachers were told by their board a few years ago that 600 would be dismissed if desegregation was implemented.
3. In Denver, Hispanic teachers were replaced in bilingual programs this year by Spanish-speaking Anglos, then dispersed with other Hispanic teachers. There are fewer Chicano teachers in the elementary schools of Denver than there are elementary schools, so this meant one teacher to a building only as long as they lasted.
4. The Fort Wayne superintendent has tried for two years to close six predominantly minority schools, with one-way reassignment to other inner-city schools, openly antagonizing both teachers and the community.
5. San Diego teachers, as were teachers in a number of other cities, faced reassignment this fall, but no action was taken to reduce minority isolation among students, meaning that substantial disruption is occurring within minority schools as a result of disproportionate transfers of minority teachers.

A significant problem for teachers has to do with the failure or refusal of school districts to allocate funds for legitimate educational purposes. The three-year national evaluation of ESAA has demonstrated that the provision of human relations-type programs in the content of school desegregation leads to statistically significant improvement in math and reading achievement, something not necessarily guaranteed by compensatory math and reading programs, which are usually funded by Title I and other compensatory education legislation. While these programs obviously deserve continued support, a very high percentage (as much as 75%) of desegregation money under ESAA goes to what would otherwise be characterized as compensatory reading and math programs.

In other situations, districts have failed to take advantage of opportunities to improve educational offerings, teacher capabilities, or intergroup relations with money collected for their participation in desegregation. The efforts of Dennis Conta and others in Wisconsin finally culminated last year in legislation to provide subsidies to districts receiving students from other districts for racial balance purposes. While the legislation and the motives of districts for participating are still debatable, one might expect that additional money brought to a district might be used to expand the educational horizons of all the students, if not the students involved in the cross-district transfers. One of the Milwaukee suburbs recently received \$168,000 for participating in the Conta Plan. Teachers there have just uncovered how the money was spent:

\$ 40,000 to renovate eight tennis courts
 3,000 to change electrical switches in the high school
 4,000 to reseal the gym floor in the middle school
 3,000 to resurface the north drive and parking lot at an elementary school
 10,000 for a parking lot at the middle school
 36,000 for a parking lot at the high school
 6,000 to paint the gym and stage ceilings
 4,500 to paint the gym roof housing
 6,000 to resurface a playground at an elementary school
 15,000 to construct another high school parking lot
 5,000 to reseal an area of the middle school roof
 6,000 to build a fence and door for the smoking area at the high school
 2,500 for a sound system
\$141,000 total capital expenditures
 22,000 to reduce the district tax levy
 5,000 to the operating budget
\$168,000 total recieved

My purpose here is not to suggest that any of these expenditures were illegal or even improper, but what might this money have meant if it were spent to improve instructional offerings, to purchase integrated learning materials, or to upgrade the quality of teaching in the district?

My original assignment for this presentation was to provide a set of recommendations for state and local policy in metropolitan desegregation. I remain convinced that such a list would have little meaning in the absence of the foregoing material to place the recommendations in context. Teachers do generally support desegregation; if the appropriate conditions are present, they will also support metropolitan desegregation. Under such circumstances will it be most possible to generate climates and programs which can most effectively prevent resegregation, white flight, and second generation desegregation problems.

Just as the problems associated with desegregation were classed in three general categories, my recommendations are also classed in the same categories. The lists are not complete or even exhaustive; they are meant to provide beginning points in planning for metropolitan desegregation so that future efforts in this area can more effectively involve all of us - teachers, parents, students, administrators, school boards, community representatives - in working together for better and fairer educations for all of our children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teacher rights

1. Teachers and teacher associations should be involved in all desegregation planning activities.
2. Opportunities should be provided for teacher input and involvement at all levels of decision-making within the local district as well as in any regional or state planning activities.
3. Teacher representatives should be selected or elected by constituent teacher associations, not by administrators or other parties, in the interests of fairness, representativeness, and accountability.
4. Negotiated contract rights should be respected at all times. Any changes in established procedures should be negotiated through mutual agreement. If state law forbids collective bargaining, procedures should be established to assure consensus among and consent by the parties before the imposition of new requirements.
5. Where more than one teacher association exists in the districts to be joined, opportunities should be sought to bring them together in advance. Procedures for merger and/or representation elections should be carefully negotiated. If rival teacher groups exist, it may be necessary for third parties to sponsor forums which can bring them together in productive circumstances.
6. In transfer and reassignment of teachers:
 - a. Advance notice of policy changes or actions to be taken should be provided for all teachers
 - b. Voluntary transfers should be sought first; if these are not sufficient, mandatory transfers should follow only under carefully defined conditions
 - c. All teachers, including those not projected for transfer, should be surveyed in advance and given opportunities for reassignment, whether or not for purposes of racial/ethnic balance
 - d. Procedures should be sought to balance as much as possible teacher experience and qualifications among all schools in the metropolitan system
 - e. Separate guidelines for voluntary and involuntary transfer should be agreed on in advance and provided to all teachers
 - f. The district(s) should consider additional compensation or some level of flexibility in hardship cases, provided consistent rules have been established and implemented to prevent changes of favoritism or inconsistency.
 - g. Where possible, transferred teachers should be reassigned in teams to provide, mutual support and to facilitate readjustment
 - h. A special group could be established with authority to act quickly to resolve transfer-related problems. If grievance processes have previously been established, such groups should be supplementary, with teachers retaining the right to revert to the regular grievance process if satisfactory resolution of difficulties has not been achieved
 - i. Building principals should not under any circumstances have the right of final approval on transfers or teacher assignments during the period of desegregation. Teacher assignments are a district-level responsibility, and any procedures should be based solely on objective criteria

- j. Standardized tests such as the National Teacher Examination have no appropriate use in determining teacher assignments, hiring, certification, retention, promotion, or dismissal
- k. If teacher contracts in merging districts offer disparate benefits, no teacher should lose benefits previously contracted. In the event of salary differentials, salary should be equalized at the higher rate for all teachers for the remaining period of the contract
- 7. As soon as possible, joint meetings and orientation of school staffs should be arranged.
- 8. Changes of any kind should be arranged as much as possible to avoid disruption of existing staffs and special programs.
- 9. Minority teacher isolation should be avoided as much as possible; pairs and threes should be considered as a minimum in even the smallest schools.
- 10. The administration should seek opportunities to improve and sustain teacher morale wherever possible.
- 11. Adequate and relevant inservice programs should be provided based on identified teacher needs and priorities and with appropriate teacher input and involvement at all stages.
- 12. Information provided should be timely, accurate, and informative; secrecy has no place in desegregation planning.

Quality education

- 1. Workshops, conferences, and training programs should be offered at every opportunity on a wide variety of topics such as new curriculum approaches, bilingual/bicultural education, community relations and involvement, federal program resources, discipline, and conflict intervention techniques. Except where absolutely necessary, they should not be mandatory. Release time and/or extra pay should be available to stimulate maximum participation.
- 2. Available resources should be utilized, including state Title IV programs, General Assistance Centers, university and college programs, state and regional educational departments, professional associations, and community organizations.
- 3. Available funding should be sought and utilized, especially ESAA funds.
- 4. Input of community organizations and coalitions should be sought. Early establishment of advisory committees on the ESAA model can be done prior to application for federal funds.
- 5. Surveys and needs assessments should be conducted with students, teachers, parents, and others.
- 6. The resources of other persons in the schools, including school health personnel, school security officers, special services, and community agents should be utilized.
- 7. Any moneys for special purposes related to desegregation should be used for educational purposes related to desegregation, not to fix parking lots or gym roofs.
- 8. Advance planning should be conducted among a wide number of groups, community organizations, and coalitions. Application by non-profit organizations for ESAA programs in support of desegregation plans should be encouraged.
- 9. Hearings among various groups and in different neighborhoods can help to identify potential problems and serve to build community support.
- 10. The needs and perspectives of ethnic and non-Black minority groups should be respected and sought in addition to the positions of Black and White spokespersons. The triethnic committees established by the courts in some Southwestern cities offer a beginning model.

11. Inservice education programs for teachers should be organized for cooperative planning purposes, not solely for imparting information or providing sounding boards for outside speakers or consultants.
12. Textbooks and curriculum materials used in all schools should be updated and evaluated for their appropriateness for a desegregated student body.

Equal opportunity

1. All vestiges of discrimination or segregation should have been eliminated in the merged school system(s).
2. Where possible, standardized, norm-based tests should be eliminated throughout the period of desegregation, and probably forever. Under no circumstances should ability grouping or tracking programs be established or continued, especially where a disproportionate effect on minority students can be demonstrated or where assignments do not have a clear, direct relationship to identified individual student needs.
3. Counselors and building principals should receive special training in working with students from diverse groups.
4. Affirmative action programs should be established to ensure that school staffs are representative of the student populations and communities being served.
5. Equity for minority students, teachers, and communities should be sought in all activities related to desegregation.
6. Adequate and relevant programs, curriculum offerings, and learning materials should be available in all schools, especially those receiving transferred students.
7. The double standard in discipline should be avoided at all costs. Students sense hypocrisy and insincerity and react accordingly. Clearly defined codes of student rights and responsibilities should be jointly prepared.
8. Suspensions and expulsions should be abolished except perhaps in instances clearly related to the safety of other students. Alternative in-school activities should be established where possible if it is necessary to remove students from a classroom or school situation.
9. Students should have ready access to services, structures, and personnel devoted to protection of rights and assistance with resolution of problems. Some examples include ombudspersons, student grievance committees and procedures, school security personnel, and special counselors.
10. Human relations programs with students should be planned and designed to bring students together and to avoid as much as possible to development of "territories" and "ownership".
11. Clubs, sports, and after-school activities in both sending and receiving schools should be planned so as to maximize opportunities for intergroup interaction and integration.
12. Administrative leadership should be facilitative rather than directive; supportive rather than punitive.

These comments were excerpted from an address given by Dr. Boyd Bosma, NEA Teacher Rights Division for the National Institute of Education Conference on School Desegregation in Metropolitan Areas, International Inn, Washington, D.C., March 1977.

KEYNOTE PRESENTATION

"Desegregation: Its Impact Upon Quality Education"

by

Dr. Charles Taylor, President
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

RACIAL BALANCE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

AN ANALYSIS AND SOME ALTERNATIVES

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* invalidating segregated schools was decided in the year I began law school. Virtually all of my professional career has been spent in efforts to obtain compliance with *Brown*. As a civil rights lawyer, I litigated the meaning and extent of the decision. In the federal government, I helped design policies and procedures to increase the effectiveness of school desegregation programs, and now as a law teacher, I explore with my students both the limits of the decision and the significance of the continuing resistance to its implementation.

Few knowledgeable persons now deny that *Brown* was rightly decided, but opposition to even the most obvious aspects of its mandate remains widespread. Can there be truth as well as hypocrisy in the public opinion polls that indicate most Americans favor integration but oppose busing to achieve it? Is the real problem, as the title of an NAACP publication suggests, "It's Not the Buses, It's the Niggers?" Or are there legal tactics and educational policies that will lessen white opposition without surrendering the goals of *Brown* for which so much has been sacrificed over the last two decades?

These questions are of more than academic interest. They raise legal and policy issues with ramifications far broader than school desegregation. The reappearance of strong, overt racist feelings in this country after two decades of solid civil rights progress should remind us that almost a century ago, in 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes (another Republican) secured the presidency by promising Democrats that he would remove federal troops from the South, thereby insuring the disenfranchisement of Blacks, and their reduction to second-class citizenship. In an article on the subject written more than a year ago, I observed:

Much has changed since 1877, but the white racism that underlay the betrayal of Black hopes a century ago is all too evident in the public hysteria and political posturing around the busing issue today.

*The danger is real. Continued pressure for school integration not only risks the progress made in this area during the last two decades, it also threatens precarious Black gains in employment, voting, housing, and other major areas.**

Racial discrimination in the public schools has been substantially reduced over the last twenty years, but full compliance with *Brown* has not been achieved, and, as recent court decisions indicate, there is continuing uncertainty as to what school systems must do to fully comply with the *Brown* decision.

Future prospects for further school integration are threatened by the growing opposition of some whites, both North and South, and the growing disenchantment of Blacks who increasingly are questioning whether the hoped-for gains of school integration are worth the struggle and sacrifice they require.

* "Integration: A No Win Policy for Blacks?," No. 11 Inequality in Education. 35, 36 (1972).

Thus, despite continuing support from the courts, and the defeat of the most restrictive anti-busing bills in the Congress, compliance efforts face a stalemate and possible setbacks. I believe these can be avoided if strategies are designed that deemphasize the importance of racial balance (which frightens many whites) and give priority to policies that will improve the quality of schooling (the main desire of most Blacks). Such strategies should be possible without undermining the original intention of *Brown*, to disestablish racially identifiable schools, and could improve the chances for minority-group children in poverty areas to obtain educational benefit now from the findings made by the Supreme Court in 1954.

There are two issues of major importance here: (1) Why racial balance? and (2) Are there acceptable alternatives to it?

To a very real extent, the present, rigid insistence by civil rights attorneys and the organizations they represent on maximizing racial balance of both pupils and teacher populations in each school can be blamed on school officials and the white constituencies for whom most of them were willing to evade compliance with *Brown* for almost two decades. As many of you know, during the first ten to twelve years after the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, there was virtually no change in *de jure* school segregation patterns followed as a matter of law throughout the South, and as a matter of policy in much of the North. Literally hundreds of individual school suits had to be initiated to bring about change. Resistance and evasion took every possible form. Included in the avoidance strategies were many assignment plans, including pupil placement and free choice, that might have proven of value in good-faith transitional policies. Usually though, they were adopted and implemented as a means of maintaining the segregated status quo.

Slowly and laboriously, civil rights lawyers had to challenge and invalidate all of these "bad-faith" schemes, replacing them with hard-won judicial precedents that eventually required student assignments that would, in fact, correct discrimination-caused racial imbalance. The Supreme Court and lower courts have, of course, rejected any entitlement by minority students to absolute racial balance. But the courts have measured the effectiveness and validity of school desegregation plans based on the degree to which the assignments enable the racial populations of each school to equal or resemble the percentage of each race in the district. Civil rights attorneys have insisted on such plans and have been unwilling to negotiate or settle cases that did not substantially (give or take ten to fifteen percent) balance the races in each school. The goal they claim, citing an oft-repeated judicial phrase, is that there will no longer be "Black schools or white schools, but just schools."

Even opponents of such tactics must concede that they have been successful in many districts, particularly in the South. Compliance with such a plan guarantees the eradication of the dual school system. But it has been a more difficult plan to implement in the larger cities, North and South, where distances are great, racial populations are isolated, and white parents have the option to remove their children from the public schools. But civil rights lawyers have not given up. They continue to seek metropolitan-wide remedies. Undiscouraged by the Supreme Court's decision in the Detroit School case, they have proceeded more successfully in Wilmington; Delaware; Louisville, Kentucky; and perhaps Indianapolis, Indiana. They insist that eradicating racially identifiable schools is constitutionally mandated whether or not it improves the educational opportunities of Black children.

Sadly, studies have shown that in all too many instances, desegregation has not proven an educational benefit to minority children and, some would argue, has proven a serious detriment.

In the face of the discouraging educational results, the continuing opposition of whites, the growing disenchantment of Blacks, the question remains why the insistence on racial balance?

Pressed in this direction by civil rights attorneys, courts have tended to focus on desegregation in its strict definitional sense, and with few exceptions, have not concerned themselves with the quality of education in the desegregated school. Indeed, some decisions including the *Rodriguez* decision and a recent opinion in the Denver School case have seemed to indicate the unwillingness of courts to constitutionalize educational quality. On the other hand, Detroit, where meaningful desegregation in an 80 percent Black district was literally impossible, and to a lesser extent Boston, has received court orders that place a great deal of emphasis on improving educational quality.

But there are political and perhaps psychological reasons for the continued insistence on racial balance remedies and their concomitant busing plans. One social scientist summarized these factors in a fashion sufficiently insightful to justify quoting at length.

The busing issue has acquired meanings that seem to have little relevance for the education of children in any direct sense. Some proponents of racial balance believe that the failure to establish busing as a major tool for desegregation will signify the end of an era of expanding civil rights. The outcome of the busing debate thus symbolizes a major test of our nation's continued will -- do we remain committed to expanding the opportunities of our minorities, or are we content with our previous accomplishments? The use of busing as a bellwether means that any retardation of its use also means, in effect, that we have abandoned our commitment to an integrated society. It means a sealing in of the Black community, a reduced access to whites, a return to segregation, and an increase in the structural opportunities to be cheated upon.

*Secondly, busing symbolizes a major test of Black political strength. If Black leaders advocate busing and fail to get it, their failure will interrupt an unbroken line of major judicial and administrative decisions that substantially has expanded the civil rights and personal opportunities of Blacks in the post-World War II period. Thus, the demise of busing would undercut the political muscle of the Black community.**

The author also suggests more pragmatically that "busing serves as a symbolic safeguard against white duplicity. Although some may argue that the 'separate but equal' standard was impossible to realize only because of Black political impotence,

* Campbell, "Defining and Attaining Equal Educational Opportunity in a Pluralistic Society," 26 Vand. L. Rev. 461, 478 (1963).

and that the current existence and continued growth of Black political power means that segregation today need not, and would not, result in inequality, the suspicion remains that somehow the whites will connive to bring extra educational benefits and resources to white children. Busing, then, symbolizes the opportunity for Blacks to discover what it is that whites have in their schools and to share fully in it--whatever 'it' is." (Id. at 479).

This latter point may be the clue to the answer to the second issue, "Are there alternatives?" In the absence of any change in position by civil rights groups, school boards will have the responsibility of proving to courts, and, more importantly, to the Black community that they are seriously committed to compliance with what I suggest is the essence of the *Brown* decision, that is that Black children are entitled both to the removal of all racial restrictions and to whatever steps are necessary to overcome the political and psychological as well as the educational damage caused by those restrictions. Where desegregation is feasible under the standards set forth in the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Educ.* case and the lower court decisions that followed it, such desegregation should be undertaken promptly and with that character of support that will insure its political and educational success. There seems to me little excuse not to proceed in those districts where the minority pupil population is under 25 percent.

In those districts where the minority population is larger or predictably will become larger when whites flee the system, then school boards must present plans evidencing their readiness to exert extraordinary efforts on behalf of predominantly Black schools. At this point, I would reiterate my definition of extraordinary efforts designed to provide "equal educational opportunity" set out in my Cleveland speech several weeks ago:

- Point 1 to encourage poor, Black parents and communities to move toward effective participation in their children's schooling;*
- Point 2 to provide and maintain court-monitored standards of funding, teaching personnel, material resources and student achievement levels;*
- Point 3 to project timetables and plans albeit on a long-range basis through which racial integration of school systems can be eventually achieved on a basis of peer equality.*

The most important aspects of these points are parental participation and school accountability. It is likely that effective education cannot take place without these qualities being present in substantial quantity. They occur more or less automatically in upper-middle class schools. School systems must build structures that create and nourish these qualities in schools serving lower-class students which is, because of societal facts none of us can control, where most of the school desegregation takes place. This will require school systems to give up some of the total control they now exercise over every important decision or policy that happens in minority schools. It means also that school systems must commit themselves (indeed must guarantee) that schools that have never been very successful will become academically-effective institutions.

Money is not the key here, but the transition from ineffectiveness to effec-

tiveness may be expensive. School systems must find the money or divert funds from predominantly white schools for this purpose. In making these recommendations, I am fully aware of the resistance to their implementation likely to arise from white parents, school suppliers, teacher unions, and the system's bureaucracy, all of whom have a vested interest in the status quo. Winning support for an effective alternative remedy may prove more difficult than overcoming resistance to the traditional racial balance plans. For the committed school official though, the motivation for favoring the alternative may justifiably be the impossibility of achieving the ends of *Brown* in his or her district using the racial balance model.

There is then an alternative to racial balance as the primary relief under *Brown*, particularly in large, predominantly minority school districts. I suggest that a careful reading of the standards in *Swann* can encompass the alternative relief and that recent decisions in Detroit and Boston can serve as precedent. There will be opposition from segments of the white community and the power structure, but school officials may find that there is unexpected support from Black parents and community groups. This is particularly likely if they are involved closely in the planning of the alternative relief. Moreover, I would think school officials will feel more comfortable working to implement a remedy to correct the serious harm done by past racial discrimination if it is in support of a plan that is educationally effective as well as constitutionally correct.

(Summary as taken from Professor Bell's Cleveland presentation.)

To reiterate my main point, while school systems would prefer to avoid school desegregation litigation, when it comes, systems should:

1. Devote less energy to denying the past discriminatory policies that can be found in virtually every American school system.
2. Combat racial balance remedies deemed educationally-unreasonable not with the "we can't do it" response--too expensive, too disruptive, too much busing, etc. Rather, show that proposed program alternatives represent extraordinary efforts by school systems to effectively teach children where they are. Models of success, preferably in your system but certainly in other systems, should be emphasized.
3. Involve Black parents in planning and implementation of special program. Aim for their participation and hopefully support. School systems must work at this. Their image in Black communities is not good. But boards should no longer assume that proponents of racial balance remedies have the unanimous support of Black parents. Finally, school system legitimacy in the Black community can be greatly aided by the presence of Blacks on the board and in policy-making positions--as well as in the classroom. But Black representation is only viable if Black personnel can and do function efficiently.

School officials must join Black parents who seek now--as they have for so long--a quality education for their children. The courts remain willing to help, but they need the expertise of educators as well as the continuing pressure of civil rights lawyers in fashioning effective school programs that meet constitutional standards and educational needs.

Excerpts taken from presentation by Professor Derrick Bell, Kent State University, KEDS General Assistance Center Seminar, December 5, 1975.

Desegregation Panel - Session "H"

*"The Mental Health of Teachers
In Desegregated Settings"*

"The job of an educator is one of the most psychologically demanding in the world and the public should be made aware of that fact. . . In research currently being conducted at The Ohio State University, we have discovered that the average public school teacher, without counting exchanges before and after school, experiences approximately 1,200 psychological exchanges a day. For example: 'Keep quiet, Johnny!' . . . If a teacher has 30 to 33 elementary students in a class, he or she is expected to maintain 30 or 33 intimate psychological relationships. . . In addition, that teacher also is expected to supervise all the various psychological relationships that exist between these pupils as well. . . "

These comments are excerpts from several presentations being given across the state to teacher and counselor audiences by Dr. Anthony Riccio of The Ohio State University. His findings which continue to be reinforced by data being collected by doctoral students at Ohio State seem to be also the subject of articles now being published by several noted sociologists.

Riccio has hypothesized that if these psychological exchanges remain constant for the teacher who is familiar with the educational community in which he or she teaches, the number of exchanges would rise dramatically if the teacher had to cope with students from unfamiliar cultural and racial orientations such as in desegregated settings. Dr. Riccio suggests that intensive staff development and inservice training programs coupled with very strong mental health provisions as a part of negotiated teacher contracts might well be in order if school districts are to continue to provide the best possible instructional program available to the school's constituents, the taxpaying public.

"As we look at these things, we can begin in our teaching contracts to consider such phenomena as the psychological status of teaching. . . There's got to be somebody who understands how difficult the job is . . . who can be a friend. We have counselors for kids, and I think we can have psychological support systems for adult teachers. There has to be someone you can talk to."

Perhaps such things as leaves and guaranteed rest periods will become a part of some plan that takes into consideration the psychological needs of the teacher which warrant something more than an "overnight mental health break" or a three month vacation period that is actually filled with going back to the university to gain new skills for "coping" with the new reality of desegregated settings. Only time will tell if the teaching profession doesn't blow its own horn.

Excerpts taken from The Mental Rigors of The Classroom, an article which appeared in the November 26, 1976 issue of Ohio Schools.

A CRITIQUE OF COLEMAN

On April 2, 1975, Dr. James S. Coleman read a paper on school integration before the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association.¹ In it he reported that while school segregation had declined significantly from 1968 to 1972, all but a tiny portion of the change was concentrated in the South. In the North as a whole, on the other hand, segregation rose slightly. Larger school districts experience the least drop in segregation, medium and small districts, the most. This was a national pattern. Clearly, large cities have been least touched by desegregation.

Why is this so? Coleman argued it was an unintended consequence of governmental policy aimed at achieving desegregation, not segregation. Individual white parents wealthy enough to move beyond the reach of a desegregation plan to be effectuated by busing simply moved out of the affected district, usually to a suburb. He described this movement as "flight". The main responsibility for such flight laid with courts who had issued the desegregation orders. To counter such a tendency, Coleman stated, "there should have been far greater attention to the reactions of whites with the economic means to move."² At the same time, while he called the courts probably "the worst instrument of social policy"³ regarding desegregation, he also observed that other agencies of government had frequently failed to initiate any other measures. Coleman called for greater cooperation in the future among various organs of government concerned with desegregation.

Coleman's paper, or, rather, press accounts of it, quickly became an item of discussion. Popular attention focused on his argument that large scale busing was not achieving its goal of integrated education. Opponents of desegregation quickly quoted Coleman's statements on busing; the Boston School Committee reproduced the text of the entire paper in its (unsuccessful) appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Coleman himself was interviewed in Newsweek, the Los Angeles Times, the National Observer, the New York Times, the Chicago Sun-Times, and probably elsewhere. In these interviews, Coleman repeated the main points of his paper but also went into a number of topics not discussed there. Most critics of the Coleman paper appraised it in terms of its probable negative effect on the desegregation movement. Others criticized specific aspects of the research design and pointed to apparent internal inconsistencies in the paper.

Let us examine the structure of Coleman's argument and evaluate the factual basis of his findings.

He contends that mass busing is frightening away white parents from the central cities. Documentation for this statement is lacking in the paper or in the interviews. In the paper itself appears a set of calculations reporting differing proportions of white parents who assertedly would leave (or did leave) the school district if different proportions of black students were enrolled. These figures are not derived from the principal source of data for Coleman's study, i.e., racial surveys of the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Perhaps they are based on national public opinion poll data gathered for general purposes in the past and now applied by Coleman to a new population. Or, perhaps Coleman's staff conducted a new series of polls, which seems unlikely. In any event, the origin of these calculations is obscure and thus beyond independent verification.

What do these calculations show? According to Coleman, one-fifth of white parents in a half-white, half-black school district moved out because of a wish to avoid desegregation. This was true, he asserts, of the twenty largest school districts in the country during 1970-1973.

Two questions can be raised about this calculation. First, among this group of school districts, almost no desegregation or busing occurred during 1970-1973. Included are New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and others. If anything, segregation in the schools of these cities increased. Second, even if white parents stated their intention of exiting cities, this is not necessarily what they would have done. Desegregation studies have shown a large discrepancy between initial objections and later acceptance. Many fewer whites flee than complain, and many later accept who earlier objected. It is impossible to tell from Coleman's data just how white parents responded to judicial orders requiring mass busing since almost none of the twenty districts he studied requires such busing. But even those few cases are not treated separately so the reader is at sea in following the main argument of the paper.

In the absence of further documentation, Coleman's contention that busing led to white flight must be judged not proven.

One of the most puzzling features of Coleman's April, 1975 paper is his failure to refer to any other study of white flight. The reader is left with a clear impression that Coleman's is the only study yet made. In fact, however, several excellent studies have been reported by other researchers. Uniformly, their findings are contrary to those of Coleman. None of the press interviewers of Coleman apparently even raised the question of other studies, thus strengthening the misimpression of readers that Coleman's was the sole study and his findings thus were unassailable.

(Desegregation research is a near-unique area of scholarly inquiry in that it has no literature. There are many individual studies but no real body of principal findings of which the great mass of researchers are even aware. One social science journal after another will carry an article announcing a purportedly "new" finding which first saw the light years before or which is contradicted by a number of earlier studies. Lack of awareness or of agreement does not establish that research findings are therefore untrustworthy, through some writers pursue a darting will-of-the-wisp called "hard" research.)

What is perhaps the largest and most systematic empirical study of white flight was completed in 1974 by Cataldo and associates, under sponsorship of the National Science Foundation. A random sample of white parents in eight representative Florida county school districts was used. Over a two-year period, 1971-1973, only 3.6 percent of white parents failed to send their children to the schools to which they had been assigned.⁴

Since all the state's school districts are desegregated, there are no enclaves of segregation. The only alternative to attendance in a desegregated public school is a private school. Financial ability counts heavily, as the researchers found. When the parents who refused to participate in desegregation--the rejecters--were arranged by income class, it was found that the rejection rate was seven percent for upper income persons, four percent for middle, and two percent for low-income respondents.

Cataldo found no evidence of a fixed "tipping-point", i.e., a degree of black enrollment which, if exceeded, produced white flight from a school or district. The percent of black enrollment did play a limited role, although not as an independent factor; thirty percent black seemed to function as a threshold. Parental rejection of desegregation increased significantly as this threshold was exceeded. Yet, black enrollment beyond thirty percent did not produce additional rejection rates. Thus, rejection rates did rise from two to eight percent as the thirty percent black enrollment level was exceeded. Beyond that, however, a reverse effect operated. Rejection rates fell to four percent--nearer the level of low rejecters than that of high rejecters--as black enrollment rose above thirty percent. Intertwined was a separate social class effect. Low income parents passing the thirty percent threshold rejected at a rate of four percent; high income parents, at a rate of seventeen percent. High-income parents whose children were assigned to a school over thirty percent black had a large probability of rejecting.

Busing was found to be entirely unrelated to the decision to reject. Parents whose children were slated to be bused did not reject at a higher rate than parents whose children were not scheduled for busing. Neither below nor above the thirty percent threshold did busing make for more rejection. Nor was racial prejudice found to influence significantly the rejection rate.

Initial opposition to desegregation declined, Cataldo and associates found, as time went on. White parents grew accustomed to their children attending schools with black children. The thirty percent threshold had not sufficed to prevent initial flight to some white parents. The researchers observe that over additional time, even higher thresholds may become acceptable to white parents as a whole. In view of the findings of the Cataldo group, it would appear inadvisable to regard the egress of whites as dependent upon fixed numerical proportions of black and white students.

No tipping point was found to be operating in Florida. Instead, there was a threshold effect that operated under varying conditions. Tipping and threshold are, however, very different concepts. Tipping envisions a sudden flood of blacks in and whites out. Nothing of the sort happened in Florida--a state, by the way, which is more urban than Pennsylvania. Instead, a small trickle occurred. Admittedly, as the researchers concede, a biennial rate of 3.6 percent could cumulate over a period of years into a sizeable outpouring. But then, it is a least equally possible that over a similar span desegregation could blossom into highly-productive integration.

This piece of research is noteworthy in another respect. Desegregation in Florida occurs in a context of complete coverage. This is one reason for the quantitative lead of the South versus the North in desegregation during recent years: There are few places to hide. This fact has led many to consider whether the creation of metropolitan school districts would not strengthen efforts to eliminate segregation in the urban North and South. That only about one out of thirty white parents in Florida chose to flee desegregation is an encouraging fact.

Luther Munford studied white flight under very different conditions--in Mississippi when massive desegregation was implemented in 1970 by order of the U.S. Supreme Court. He began his study believing in the existence of a tipping point. Upon examining what actually happened in Mississippi, however, he found no specific numerical level of black enrollment beyond which whites tended to accelerate their movement out of desegregated schools. In many districts, nearly all white children left specific public schools. The rate of which white exits occurred, however, was unrelated to the racial composition of those individual schools.

Instead, Munford found, "white children abandoned the public schools . . . (for private schools) roughly in proportion to the percentage of black populations in each district, no more and no less."⁵ In other words, the reason for leaving a certain school seemed related to the racial situation in the school district as a whole rather than in that particular school.

For example, Munford studied changes of white enrollment in schools of initially similar racial composition. (This period covered January, 1970 when the state's schools desegregated and September, 1970, when the scope of white flight first became clear.) In each enrollment category of similar schools, half or more of the schools increased in white enrollment over the initial period of desegregation.⁶ Most notable, of twenty-three schools in which whites constituted ten percent or less of enrollment, fourteen schools gained in white enrollment; five lost in white enrollment; and four showed no change. These changes are at odds with any tipping-point hypothesis and would confound any numerical approach to white flight.

Munford also wondered whether his findings could be explained by the degree to which local community leaders supported or opposed desegregation. After examining the record of community response to desegregation in each of the counties studied, Munford found "the influence of leadership was small and it diminished over time." In many counties, whites followed organized segregationists and withdrew their children from the public schools; in some comparable counties other parents did not. Similarly, in some places white community leaders solidly supporting desegregation of the public schools seemed to have an effect; elsewhere, they did not.

Why, then, was white flight linked to the black percentage of population in county school districts as a whole? Munford points to the growing political significance of black majorities in the South, and especially in Mississippi. In a black-controlled county government, all the schools would also be black-controlled. Whites were not fleeing black classmates so much as seeking to escape the rule of a black government. Further, Munford offered, they feared that the teaching of white supremacy would end under such conditions.

Munford's pessimism at this reality was tempered somewhat by the debility of the tipping hypothesis. If whites reserved the right not to be tipped, perhaps one day they might also decide to re-enter the public schools. Indeed, since Munford completed his 1971 study, white children have continued to re-enter ("un-flee"?) the public schools of Mississippi, however slow the pace.⁷

Munford's study leaves us with the impression that there is no such unitary thing as "white flight." What may appear as such when viewed from the global perspective of population statistics, seems to decompose into special situations as the examples of Florida and Mississippi suggest.

Both Pontiac and Kalamazoo, Michigan, desegregated their schools in 1971. A possible connection of desegregation and white flight in these two cities was explored by Bosco and Robin. They compared the pre-desegregation years of 1969 and 1970 with the desegregation period. During the first year of desegregation in Kalamazoo, the percentage of blacks in the schools remained virtually unchanged with very few whites leaving the system. In Pontiac, on the other hand, during the same year black enrollment rose 4.6 percent as many whites left the city.⁸ It should be noted that both cities were surrounded by numerous school districts that lacked desegregated schools and thus constituted viable alternatives for white parents seeking to avoid desegregation. Yet, such alternatives were chosen by whites in Pontiac but not those in Kalamazoo. Bosco and Robin, although they did not have adequate second-year data

for Pontiac, gained the impression that white flight slowed during that time. Finally, they attribute the greater initial white flight in Pontiac not to some ineluctable demographic force as to simply more effective protest techniques used by opponents of mandatory busing in that city.

Some inquiry has been made into white flight in Pasadena, California. Kurtz contends that desegregation there accelerated the white flight which had originated in a non-school context (e.g., employment changes and a fall in the birth rate which had the same effect). During 1970-1972, according to Kurtz, white flight in Pasadena doubled over the level of the previous two years in the absence of desegregation.⁹ During a federal court proceeding in 1974, Professor Jane Mercer testified that the white percentage in Pasadena schools had been falling for years prior to the 1970 desegregation plan, as in many school districts of the state which had not desegregated. The judge agreed with Professor Mercer and held no evidence had been produced to prove the school board's argument that desegregation was intensifying white flight. (It is not possible for the present writer to comment since he has not read the Mercer testimony.)

Two studies remain: one by Cochran and Uhlman and one by Koponen.

Cochran and Uhlman reviewed desegregation experience in North Carolina during 1967-1968. This was still the period of more or less token desegregation in the South. Nor surprisingly, therefore, they found that school desegregation was most extensive in counties with few blacks. Here exceedingly few black children were admitted to white schools in which they constituted only a tiny percentage. After some blacks were admitted, however, the addition of considerably more seemed to make little difference. In other words, up to a threshold of changing dimensions, increasing black enrollment tended to diminish white enrollment. After a point, this trend was reversed. Neither a specific threshold nor a tipping point was in evidence.

A final study was one made by Koponen in Hartford, Connecticut, nearly a decade ago. He readily located black neighborhoods that were once white but he was unable to discover a single case of sudden changes in black enrollment which, as such, led to white flight from a specified school. Discussing one area of the city, Koponen emphasized that white flight from schools there was more likely to reflect avoidance of "educational inadequacy and excessive class size" than simply an escape from black children.¹⁰ He suggested, in fact, that the city's political leadership, eager to discredit desegregation by demonstrating its impracticality, were assigning large numbers of non-white children to a few schools rather than assigning many to vacant seats available in nearby white schools. While independent affirmation of this interpretation is lacking, its plausibility should give pause to the would-be analyst of white flight.

Studies by Cataldo, Munford, Bosco and Robin, Mercer, and Koponen strongly support a view that massive white flight is an avoidable phenomenon. Coleman, who failed to report any of these studies in his April, 1975 paper, represents white flight as an inevitable consequence of mandatory desegregation in the largest cities especially. This conclusion is highly unwarranted by evidence in his own paper as well as by evidence in the studies reported above.

Rather than attributing white flight to federal court action, as Coleman does, a more balanced view would suggest that much white flight can be avoided altogether. Advance planning by school and community can do much in this direction. Yielding to anti-desegregation sentiments by failing to implement court-ordered desegregation plans would make a mockery of constitutional protection.

In his April, 1975 paper, Coleman stressed that he was concerned with an indirect effect of mandatory desegregation, i.e., how legal efforts to desegregate were allegedly creating more segregation. We have seen the untenability of Coleman's argument in the fact of his inadequate evidence, as weighed along with other research which he did not report. Yet, in nearly all his press interviews Coleman proceeded to express opinions on direct effects of desegregation. It must be remembered that his paper did not deal with any such problems. Readers of his press interviews could not know this and consequently may well have believed that his interview opinion simply repeated those expressed earlier in the paper. This was by no means the case.

In an interview with the National Observer, for example, Coleman stated that by desegregating lower-class and middle-class students, a less favorable learning atmosphere might result. Specifically, he declared: "What sometimes happens . . . is that characteristics of the lower-class black classroom--namely a high degree of disorder--come to take over and constitute the values and characteristics of the integrated school." Numerous empirical studies of actually-desegregated schools and classrooms, however, demonstrate that the opposite is far more typical.¹¹ Since Coleman failed to refer to a specific school, it is difficult to weigh his statement. Measured against available studies, the statement cannot help but distort empirical reality.

Coleman's analysis of proper and improper court action is based on an artificial distinction that long ago lost its theoretical cogency. This is the alleged difference between de facto and de jure segregation. The former is regarded as occurring by accident, without intention by school or government; the latter describes segregation ensuing from conscious, explicit design of an official body. A decade or so ago this distinction pervaded discussions of social segregation. It was even thought that de facto was "northern" while--de jure was "southern". Since then, however, federal courts have uncovered evidence of sweeping de jure segregation in the North. Such cases include Detroit, Indianapolis, Pontiac, Pasadena, Las Vegas, and many others. When Stockton, California was recently found to have engaged in deliberate segregation, a high legal official of the state government opined that a good number of other districts could well be next in line.

Coleman, however, ignores this growing documented record and retains a distinction that was blurred at birth and has grown less distinct ever since. Every federal court order to desegregate, whether dealing with North or South, has been based on the existence of official segregation contrary to the 14th Amendment.

Coleman told the Los Angeles Times that "the court made a fundamental mistake by being more sociological than constitutional." The statement is especially surprising coming from well-known sociologist. Courts have never been "constitutional" without being "sociological" as well. Before the 1954 Brown decision, the maintenance of segregation by the federal courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, was no less "sociological" than "constitutional." After all, court rulings must be tailored to fit the human society that happens to exist at the time. If that society happens to be changing, it is quite "constitutional" for the court to take the fact into account.

In an interview published in the New York Times, Coleman extended his legal theory. He now criticized courts for not pursuing integration too energetically, but for integrating across class lines: "If integration (by court order) had been limited to racial integration," said Coleman, "if there had not been an attempt to carry out widespread class integration, then the fear of incidents would have been much less, and the experience with integration would have been much more position" (emphasis added).

Two weeks earlier, he had told the Los Angeles Times that the courts' error lay in attempting to deal with so-called de facto segregation. Now, apparently, even this was no longer criticized. A new target had been found.

In his original paper, Coleman had also raised the class issue. Since most of the white exodus probably consists of middle-class persons, he observed, integration necessarily consisted of blacks and working-class whites. This circumstance worked against productive integration which, he implied, required middle-class children in order to serve as cognitive models for the others. This contention came from Coleman's famous 1966 report. But it is not supported by the overwhelming majority of empirical studies of desegregation. Instead, it is firmly established in the research that during desegregation white children continue to learn at their accustomed rate and, more times than not, black children's achievement rises. In his April, 1975 paper, he said that white exodus "largely defeated" the goal of increasing black achievement. Not a single bit of evidence was cited to support this discredited assertion.

Throughout his paper and the interviews, Coleman is highly critical of the courts. Twice he seemed to argue that the time had passed for federal courts to pursue desegregation so energetically. Coleman told Bryce Nelson of the Los Angeles Times that courts should take note that the "much greater commitment to school integration during the 1960's has passed, and that such integration is no longer the first national priority." (Los Angeles Times, May 29, 1975.) "When the will for integration does not exist," he told Larry Ingrassia of the Chicago Sun-Times, "the imposition of it by the courts doesn't make it successful."

Coleman's conflict with the courts seems based essentially on his feeling that desegregation is no longer that important. It reflects a political rather than a social science judgment. True, his paper and interviews are marked by repeated statements affirming the desirability of further desegregation. His wish to appease those white parents who fear desegregation, however, works against any continuation of desegregation.

The amount of "science" in Coleman's latest work is minimal. It offers the opponents of desegregation new ammunition while at the same time attempting to disarm those who would enlarge the nation's constructive experience with desegregation. Research on actually desegregated schools tells us how promising such developments are for the equal education of all American youth. Not to build on the growing mass of positive research results and to succumb to fears is to reject one of the most hopeful movements in our country's educational history.

During the 1960's, researchers came up with the concept of a tipping point. The clearest import of this theory was: go slowly in desegregating. In more than one court judges have agreed to permit all-black schools to remain segregated on the explicit ground to attempt to desegregate them would be fruitless; the tipping point would be exceeded at the outset and instability would result. Whites would flee and leave wholly black schools in their wake.

It is important to note that this hypothesis became popular during the early 1960s, a time of insignificant desegregation in the Deep South and North, with a very slight degree in a few border areas. It was a period of tokenism par excellence. Courts were not requiring desegregation plans to result in actual desegregation. Announcement of a willingness to desegregate was judged sufficient. Clearly, whatever desegregation occurred was greatly dependent on the sufferance of white parents and local school officials. Under these circumstances, even tokenism was regarded as

progress. Black children were not, in fact, accorded a legal right to attend. Thus concern of some observers and school people for not "rocking the boat" led to concern with an optimal percentage of black children. The optimality, however, was not based on educational so much as on a tactical consideration of how many minority children could be tolerated by politically salient elements in the community.

Today, the situation is far different. In 1972, for example, nearly 1.3 million white children attended predominantly minority schools.¹² Many of these schools had stable enrollments in defiance of the tipping point hypothesis. Additional millions of white children have black classmates in predominantly white schools. Judicial doctrine has shifted from declaring the right of individual children to select from among available schools to stressing the obligation of entire school systems to be non-discriminatory. Whether or not a school is racially identifiable has become the touchstone of successful desegregation. The personal disposition of white parents is now irrelevant in determining the preferred racial composition of a school.

Coleman's newest blast can only help us return to the dark days of free choice for whites to attend schools with their white neighbors only. It is contradicted by the constitutional necessities of the present. And it is contradicted by the main run of research. Thousands of black and white parents are finding ways to cooperate anew in helping educate all the children of all the people. Encouraging reports from desegregated schools underscore the great educational potential of desegregation. We must reject essentially destructive orientations such as James S. Coleman placed before the nation on April 2, 1975.

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1. James S. Coleman, "Recent Trends in School Integration."
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 21
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 22
 4. Everett Cataldo, Michael Gales, Deborah Athos, and Douglas Gatlin, "Desegregation and White Flight," *Integrateducation*, 13 (January-February, 1975), p.3.
 5. Luther Munford, *Black Gravity: Resegregation in 30 Mississippi School Districts* (Senior thesis, Princeton University, April 18, 1971, P. xi (emphasis added).
 6. Luther Munford, "White Flight from Desegregation in Mississippi," *Integrateducation*, 11 (May-June, 1973), p. 20.
 7. See entries under "Mississippi" in *Chronicle of Race, Sex, and Schools* in issues of *Integrateducation* since 1971.
 8. James Bosco and Stanley Robin, "White Flight from Court-Ordered Busing," *Urban Education*, 9 (April, 1974), p. 122.
 9. Harold Kurtz, "Court Mandated Integration and White Flight in Los Angeles County," p. 1426 in U.S. Congress, 92nd, 2nd session, House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee No. 5, *School Busing Hearings*, Part 3, Serial No. 32 (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1972).

Discussion Panel - Session "I"

"Black Dialect vs. Standard English: Communicating In A Desegregated Setting

" . . . Communication is a two-way problem. It is evident that some of the trouble may lie with the teacher. A teacher, for example, who forgets that poor children of all races do not always have a middle class vocabulary may be likely to use words, phrases, and expressions which are unfamiliar to the children. Also, their parents may not engage them in the kind of language feedback, correction, and vocabulary enlargement that is attributed to middle class families. If you want to give all pupils in your room equal opportunity to learn, you must be more flexible in your language and provide relevant experiences when it is obvious that concepts behind word symbols are missing. For children who speak little or no English, however, much more is needed. They need teachers who speak their language and a regular program for bilingual education if they are to have a fair chance to learn.

Some idioms and colloquialisms are racial, in which case they may be hard to understand. But remember that types of speech (e.g., Black English) have a rational, consistent basis despite how careless and inarticulate they may sound to the outsider. You may have difficulty understanding teenage slang, jive, heptalk, and other jargons that change so rapidly. It is hard for adults to keep up with them. Once suggestions is to treat the problem cavalierly and have fun with it. Children can exchange idiomatic expressions among themselves and you, learning one another's talk. You, however, have responsibility for teaching suitability. You should teach children that some kinds of language patterns are OK for neighborhood use but not always for school if they want to learn other patterns of speech and thought. Your requiring students to learn correct, standard American English can be immensely helpful to them in later life when they apply for, hold, and advance in various kinds of occupations. However, proficiency in "standard" English should not be provided at the expense of denigrating native speech patterns. People's self-respect is inextricably tied to their native speech.

When some teachers anticipate classroom desegregation, they worry about the use of obscenity and profanity. Pupils need to learn when their language in the classroom offends and causes peer-group rejection. However, you, the teacher, must control your own tendency to feel insulted by certain language. No teacher needs to think less well of herself/himself because a child swears or calls her/him names. This is not to imply that you should ignore such impulsive or deliberate attempts to dominate you. However, before dealing with the offense, you must find out whether you and the child have the same meaning for the words. . . . "

**The above excerpt was taken from The Teacher and Integration, an NEA publication authored by Gertrude Noar, 1974.*

THE LANGUAGE OF PREJUDICE

THE SEARCHING MIND

STEPHEN STEINBERG, research sociologist, Survey Research Center, University of California (Berkeley).

Prejudice in some ways resembles language. *Kike, dago, nigger, and wetback* are all part of the graceless vocabulary of prejudice. They differ from *Jew, Italian, Black, and Mexican* in that they convey meanings and images that disparage these groups and imply contempt. When blacks repudiate the use of the word *Negro*, they are attempting to leave behind the connotations of submissiveness and dependency this word can imply.

Like language, prejudice has a syntax—a system of rules—that designates which adjectives can properly be attached to which social groups. *Primitive, lazy, and immoral* are typically applied to blacks, not to Jews. Instead, Jews are identified as *rich, unethical, clammy*; Italians as *greasy or impulsive*; Poles as *dumb*; Mexicans as *shiftless*; Japanese as *sneaky*; Catholics as *priest-ridden and superstitious*; women as *passive, emotional, and incompetent*.

One of the lesser inequities of prejudice is that the dominant group is rarely subjected to the same abusive characterization. It is not difficult to understand why this is so. The dominant group is able to set the standards of what is worthy and respectable in physical appearance, cultural values, and social behavior. Unsurprisingly, it chooses the styles of its own group, so defined that they can only be imperfectly approximated by members of other groups. The clearest example is the high value that has been placed on white skin, which automatically diminishes the prestige and life chances of large groups and entire cultures.

It is perhaps a feature of cultural domination that the stereotypes minorities create of the dominant group typically make reference to their own victimization. Thus whites or white Christians (depending on who is making the judgment) are seen as *insensitive, bigoted, exploitative, and cruel*. In a society such as ours, where prejudice has deep roots in history and culture, hardly any group escapes negative stereotyping, and few individuals are unburdened by prejudiced attitudes toward groups other than their own.

The old refrain that "sticks and stones can break my bones, but names can never hurt me" is true only in part. There are few people whose psychological armor

is so sturdy that they do not feel wounded by unkind words, let alone a steady flow of derogatory language. However, prejudice is not just a social grammar, a way of talking about cultural minorities. The behavioral expressions of prejudice, and the many forms of discrimination practiced against minority groups, are even more damaging.

The consequences of prejudice and discrimination are all too evident. Most of our nation's minorities live in distressing social conditions, while the majority enjoys relative security and affluence. Others, like Jews, who have managed to bypass or overcome many of the discriminatory barriers once confronting them, are still excluded from major areas of economic activity and are still stigmatized as socially undesirable. For members of victimized groups, the result is diminished self-esteem and a defensive withdrawal within one's self or one's own group. For society as a whole, the result is intense social conflict and loss of civic unity. Like other kinds of verbal abuse, the language of prejudice carries a heavy price.

The most important similarity between prejudice and language is that prejudice is typically acquired as easily, and in much the same way, as language itself. From an early age, children hear the adjective *lazy* attached to blacks, *shady* to Jews, *emotional* to women—just as they learn that men are *strong*, flowers are *beautiful*, and a particular laundry soap leaves clothes *dazzling*.

Once these images are adopted, they operate as filters on the individual's perception and understanding of the world around him. Should he encounter a black who appears lazy, he interprets this as confirming the stereotype. At the same time, he filters out all those cases that contradict the stereotype. Since our society has no image of whites as lazy, the unambitious white, like the industrious black, receives little notice. This self-confirming mechanism is part of the reason people cling to their prejudices with so much conviction.

Another reason is that prejudiced beliefs sometimes succeed in producing the very social conditions assumed by those beliefs. Every teacher knows that high expectations and encouragement can bring out the best in children and spur them on to higher levels of performance.

Low expectations and unsupportive attitudes generally have the opposite result. For example, as an experiment, teachers were assigned a group of minor-
-804v children with average IQ scores but were told that

This article may provide a basis for classroom discussions during Brotherhood Week, February 21-28.

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the children were underachievers with high aptitude. These children subsequently showed far greater improvement on objective tests than did those in a control group where teachers were not given an overgenerous estimate of the students' capacities.

In the same way, when a society fosters the image of women as incompetent (outside the home, of course), and if women have little opportunity to develop and exercise their talents, it is hardly surprising that in many cases the stereotype will be fulfilled. Every instance of incompetence is then used as evidence of the original stereotype. In this way, the language of prejudice becomes self-fulfilling and self-justifying.

Despite the intense racial conflict of the past decade, in some respects an improved climate of tolerance has developed in the nation, at least in comparison to the first half of this century. This is most clearly the case in the official sphere of our society. Governing agencies, courts, the mass media, and many public officials have gone on record, in word if not in deed, against racism and prejudice. Partly as a result, there has been a decline in some of the more blatant forms of discrimination prevailing in earlier decades.

A well-established proposition in sociology states that such changes in the official society will inevitably produce changes in popular attitudes, though there is apt to be a lag between the two. This was the rationale of the population survey that Gertrude Selznick and I conducted in late 1964.* Based on a nationally representative sample, the study sought to assess the extent and sources of contemporary anti-Semitism. We also examined other forms of intolerance that are part and parcel of anti-Jewish prejudice.

A few of our findings are presented in the accompanying table. The column on the extreme right shows the proportion of the national sample that gave intolerant responses to various questions. The center of the table shows the breakdown by amount of education. For example, 12 percent of the sample said that Jews have too much power in the United States, and this figure varied from 18 percent among those with only a grade school education to 5 percent among college graduates.

This question on Jewish power again illustrates the similarity between prejudice and language. The late 1930's and early 1940's saw an upsurge of anti-Semitic propaganda, and the connection between power and Jew was a regular occurrence. Public acceptance of this characterization in this country reached alarming proportions.

A 1938 national poll reported that 41 percent thought Jews had too much power in the United States. This figure steadily increased during the war years to a peak of 58 percent in 1945. The present figure of 12 percent thus indicates great improvement. However, the lesson of the past is that even such politically

dangerous beliefs are subject to precipitous change in a crisis situation.

Unlike the belief in Jewish power, certain economic beliefs that have always been at the heart of anti-Semitism have hardly declined. For example, 42 percent of our sample accepted the characterization of Jews as prone to shady practices, and 28 percent disagreed that "Jews are just as honest as other businessmen." These figures are not very different from those reported in polls during the 1950's. Even the old canard about Jewish control of international banking is still held by a fourth of the population.

A major conclusion of our study was that at least a third of the adult population show definite signs of anti-Semitic prejudice. Many others, while not themselves prejudiced, are willing to acquiesce in or condone the prejudice of others.

The basic finding concerning anti-Negro prejudice

PERCENT AT EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL WHO GIVE INTOLERANT ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS DEALING WITH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

(Based on a 1964 National Sample of Adults)

Amount of Education	Grade School	High School	Some College	College Graduates	Total
Do you think Jews have too much power in the United States? (yes)	18 ¹ / ₂ %	10 ⁵ / ₈ %	4 ¹ / ₂ %	5 ¹ / ₂ %	12 ¹ / ₂ %
Jews are just as honest as other businessmen (disagree)	34 ¹ / ₂ %	28 ¹ / ₂ %	24 ¹ / ₂ %	14 ¹ / ₂ %	26 ¹ / ₂ %
Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want (agree)	54 ¹ / ₂ %	42 ¹ / ₂ %	38 ¹ / ₂ %	21 ¹ / ₂ %	42 ¹ / ₂ %
In general, do you think that Negroes are as intelligent as white people—that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training? (no)	21 ¹ / ₂ %	18 ¹ / ₂ %	22 ¹ / ₂ %	16 ¹ / ₂ %	19 ¹ / ₂ %
Do you think white children and Negro children should go to the same schools or to separate but equal schools? (separate)	55 ¹ / ₂ %	38 ¹ / ₂ %	24 ¹ / ₂ %	17 ¹ / ₂ %	38 ¹ / ₂ %
Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and don't like to work hard (agree)	49 ¹ / ₂ %	41 ¹ / ₂ %	31 ¹ / ₂ %	23 ¹ / ₂ %	40 ¹ / ₂ %
Persons who insist on wearing beards should not be allowed to teach in public schools (agree)	39 ¹ / ₂ %	23 ¹ / ₂ %	16 ¹ / ₂ %	12 ¹ / ₂ %	25 ¹ / ₂ %
Suppose a man admitted in public that he did not believe in God. Should he be allowed to teach in a public high school? (no)	78 ¹ / ₂ %	58 ¹ / ₂ %	48 ¹ / ₂ %	38 ¹ / ₂ %	60 ¹ / ₂ %
America owes a great deal to the immigrants who came here (disagree)	30 ¹ / ₂ %	26 ¹ / ₂ %	16 ¹ / ₂ %	12 ¹ / ₂ %	24 ¹ / ₂ %
Nothing in other countries can beat the American way of life (agree)	88 ¹ / ₂ %	71 ¹ / ₂ %	54 ¹ / ₂ %	41 ¹ / ₂ %	70 ¹ / ₂ %

*The findings are reported in *The Tenacity of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America* by Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephen Steinberg (Harper, 1969.) Much of the substance of this paper derives from the larger study, which was conducted under a grant from the Anti-Defamation League.

is much the same. Comparisons with past surveys indicate a rather steady decline in certain beliefs, but there still remains a sizable amount of prejudice.

As the table shows, in the nation as a whole, 19 percent believe that blacks have lower intellectual capabilities than whites; 38 percent favor separate schools for blacks and whites; and 40 percent agree that Negroes are lazy and don't like to work hard. In both the North and South, these figures represent improvement over times past. But past levels of prejudice were so high that, despite steady improvement for over two decades, there is still a very long way to go before either anti-Semitism or anti-Negro prejudice can be said to be vanishing.

As with blacks and Jews, our society has a stereotype of teachers, with the important exception that it is favorable in most respects and leads to respectful rather than unequal and exploitative relationships. Teachers are dedicated, conscientious, correct in appearance, and devout in spirit. Nonconformity to this image arouses intolerant attitudes. When our 1964 sample was asked whether persons with beards should be allowed to teach in the schools, one in every four answered "no." When the same question was asked about persons who did not believe in God, 60 percent said they would bar such people from the classroom.

The last two items in the table deal with foreigners. Despite the legendary image of America as a "nation of immigrants," about one quarter of our sample denied that "America owes a great deal to the immigrants who came here." And 70 percent went along with the statement that "nothing in other countries can beat the American way of life." Xenophobia, provincialism, intolerance of nonconformity, antiintellectualism—these are the cousins of the kinds of prejudices directed against specific groups.

Each of the items listed in the table measures the extent to which people tolerate one or another kind of social diversity: Jews, blacks, atheists, foreigners, people with beards. All but one is strongly and systematically related to education. No matter what the specific content of the item, the more educated tend to be tolerant in their attitudes; the less educated, to be intolerant.

This leads to two conclusions: First, prejudice tends to come in bundles. Few people are prejudiced against just one group. For example, those who are prejudiced against blacks also tend to be prejudiced against Jews, and those who are prejudiced against Jews tend to discriminate against bearded teachers.

The bigot always pleads he is not prejudiced, but is responding to actual traits of the groups in question. This defense is rendered suspect when he exhibits a pattern of intolerance against virtually everything outside a narrow range of acceptability.

A second conclusion is that the tendency to tolerate differences is acquired with greater education. This finding challenges the theory that the capacity for tolerance or intolerance is primarily a matter of personality, unalterably laid down in early childhood.

As teachers know firsthand, the educational process can modify and counteract social influences and personality factors conducive to prejudice. Education does so by providing people with moral and intellectual criteria for evaluating and rejecting the beliefs in their environment.

Some of these criteria are scientific; many prejudiced beliefs can be shown to be overgeneralized, inaccurate, or untrue. Until very recently, racial theories that explained social differences between groups in terms of biological or genetic factors were almost universally accepted. Today they are regarded as the folklore of a prescientific age. Social science, through its improved understanding of social and psychological processes, has also debunked many racial theories.

Other criteria for rejecting prejudice involve democratic principles. People are better equipped to reject prejudice if they understand that in a democracy certain rights are guaranteed to all, and that inequality of wealth and power, while not itself incompatible with democracy, cannot be so great as to result in the subordination of some groups to others. Indeed, our study showed that persons with greater knowledge and understanding of the Constitution were less prejudiced as a result.

Finally, there are humanitarian reasons for rejecting prejudice—especially when its consequences are considered. The net effect of prejudice is to diminish the humanity of the prejudiced and their victims alike.

Scientific, democratic, and humanitarian principles are unfortunately not part of man's natural endowment, but rather the products of advanced civilization. They are subtle and complex principles, and, if only for this reason, the task of transmitting them falls largely on educational institutions.

The figures in the table testify to both the success and failure of these institutions. To the extent that open-mindedness, tolerance, and respect for civil liberties increase with greater education, the schools are succeeding in their educational functions. To the extent that students leave schools with prejudiced attitudes toward the nation's minorities, with little patience for social and intellectual diversity, and with little understanding or respect for the democratic process, the schools are failing.

Other studies show that the schools are rife with the same intolerant and provincial attitudes which exist in society as a whole. Of course, it is not the fault of the schools that students mirror the prejudices found elsewhere in society. But it is the schools' responsibility to alter that situation by seeing that their graduates have the intellectual and moral sophistication to reject vulgar prejudices and other such retrograde belief systems. The nation's legal and political institutions can do a great deal to combat discrimination and remedy some of the tragic social conditions that result. But the schools are practically the only institutions in our society equipped to counteract prejudices in our culture.

To avoid this responsibility would indicate not just a moral failure, but an educational failure as well.

PROBLEMS & PROCESSES OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
NEA/OEA DESEGREGATION CONFERENCE

Participant Self-Assessment Check List

PART A. MULTIPLE CHOICE

Please circle the most correct answer from the following questions and/or statements:

1. The original federal judge in the Milliken v. Bradley case was:
 - (a). Judge Baptiste
 - (b). Judge MacMillan
 - (c). Judge Rubin
 - (d). Judge Roth
 - (e). None of the above
2. Ohio is a part of what circuit court of appeals?
 - (a). First Circuit
 - (b). Third Circuit
 - (c). Fifth Circuit
 - (d). Sixth Circuit
 - (e). None of the above
3. Which one of the two metropolitan desegregation cases to reach the U.S. Supreme Court has resulted in a metropolitan remedy being upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court (with three Justices dissenting)?
 - (a). Detroit, Michigan
 - (b). Richmond, Virginia
 - (c). Louisville, Kentucky
 - (d). Wilmington, Delaware
 - (e). None of the above
4. Consideration of the Keyes Case by the U.S. Supreme Court caused that Court to make a definitive judgement on:
 - (a). de jure segregation
 - (b). rights of realtors
 - (c). de facto segregation
 - (d). alternatives to busing
 - (e). None of the above
5. Which of the following pupil assignment practices is not considered discriminatory if it does not result in more segregation than some other "educationally sound" and "readily available" pupil assignment mechanism?
 - (a). racially separatist pupil transportation
 - (b). segregated classroom assignments (EMR)
 - (c). open enrollment, free transfers, "optional" attendance zones
 - (d). recission by recently elected school boards of voluntary desegregation plans
 - (e). None of the above

6. In February of 1970, the Ohio State Department of Education revoked the charter of a bankrupt school district in a suburban black Community and transferred that community's 1,900 black students into an adjacent, predominantly white school district. Was that predominantly white school district:
- (a). Spencer Sharples
 - (b). Lincoln Heights
 - (c). Princeton
 - (d). Cincinnati
 - (e). None of the above
7. The first large northern city to be ordered by a federal court to bus children to achieve school integration was:
- (a). Shaker Heights
 - (b). Hillsboro
 - (c). Pontiac
 - (d). St. Louis
 - (e). None of the above
8. A study entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity" held that the social results of desegregation show a significant increase in the average test performance of nonwhite students in desegregated settings as compared to previously segregative environments. The author of this study was:
- (a). Professor Thomas F. Pettigrew
 - (b). Professor James S. Coleman
 - (c). Professor David J. Armor
 - (d). Dr. Gordon Foster
 - (e). None of the above
9. Which one of the following do not belong in this group of school districts?
- (a). Berkeley, California
 - (b). Pasadena, California
 - (c). Toledo, Ohio
 - (d). Pontiac, Michigan
 - (e). Evanston, Illinois
 - (f). Princeton, Ohio
10. Which one of the following cases has been most frequently in desegregation litigation as the "model" that addresses the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution?
- (a). Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education
 - (b). Griffin v. Board of Education of Prince Edward County
 - (c). Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education
 - (d). Bradley v. City of Richmond
 - (e). Greene v. Board of Education of Kent County

11. Which one of the following alternatives to busing have been most frequently used as methods of school desegregation?
- (a). Magnet plans with open enrollment
 - (b). Metropolitan plans
 - (c). Educational park plans
 - (d). Intracity Transportation (Princeton) plan
 - (e). None of the above
12. Which one of the following federal programs has been generally used in funding School Desegregation Programs?
- (a). Title IV, Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - (b). Title IX, Ethnic Heritage Program,
 - (c). Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - (d). Title V, Higher Education Act of 1972, EPDA
 - (e). None of the above
13. Which one of the following court cases was responsible for reversing the Plessy v. Ferguson's "separate, but equal" doctrine.
- (a). Marbury v. Madison
 - (b). Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)
 - (c). Bolling v. Sharpe
 - (d). Hobson v. Hanson
 - (e). Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education
14. Most litigation relative to desegregation are the result of class action suits filed by one primary group of civil rights activists:
- (a). NAACP - Legal Defense Fund, Inc.
 - (b). National Urban League
 - (c). Congress on Racial Equality
 - (d). U.S. Department of Justice
 - (e). None of the above
15. "A quest for Human Dignity" was the title of the student assignment plan for Indianapolis designed by two court appointed Commissioners; they were:
- (a). Foster and Carle
 - (b). Gordon and Britt
 - (c). Glatt and Taylor
 - (d). Finger and Glatt
 - (e). MacMillan and Scott
16. The first state law adopted to encourage racially balanced schools was enacted by:
- (a). Pennsylvania
 - (b). Ohio
 - (c). Rhode Island
 - (d). Massachusetts
 - (e). North Carolina

17. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published an extensive report on the educational advantages of racial integration entitled Racial Isolation In The Public Schools. It was also known as the:
- (a). Coleman Report
 - (b). Stranahan Study
 - (c). Kerner Report
 - (d). MacMillan Report
 - (e). Flannery Report
18. Which one of the following statements is the least correct?
- (a). Busing is too expensive
 - (b). Fights and racial clashes occur on buses
 - (c). Busing destroys the neighborhood school
 - (d). Buses aren't safe
 - (e). Minority Americans are just as opposed to busing as majority Americans.
19. In Swann, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the duty of school boards to take affirmative measures to eliminate dual school systems. They listed four methods that are commonly used to segregate school systems; which of the following is not one of these:
- (a). Racial ratios (balancing of staff and students)
 - (b). One-race schools
 - (c). School attendance zones (redrawing boundary)
 - (d). Transportation of students
 - (e). Zonal configuration of neighborhood schools
20. A by-product inequality in educational opportunity is the problem of equalization of school financing. The principal case that went to the U.S. Supreme Court was:
- (a). Serrano v. Priest
 - (b). Crawford v. Board of Education of City of L.A.
 - (c). Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education
 - (d). U.S. v. School District 151 of Cook County
 - (e). Brewer v. School Board of City of Norfolk, Virginia
21. The law and/or regulations having the most direct impact on equal opportunity in school systems is:
- (a). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, 1964 as amended
 - (b). State EEO legislation
 - (c). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, 1964 as amended
 - (d). Executive Orders
 - (e). None of the above

22. Desegregation of white and Black students generally:
- (a). Requires the movement of Black students into white schools
 - (b). Is resisted primarily because of the busing involved
 - (c). Is the first step in achieving integration.
 - (d). Is an attempt at redressing past inequities perpetrated by white school boards.
23. In many rural and/or all white American towns and cities, white students grow up inadequately prepared to live and compete fairly with people of color or cultural difference because:
- (a). Instruction processes and education materials bias them toward thinking that "white is right."
 - (b). They have a lack of contact with Minorities
 - (c). They experience parental prejudicial/racist attitudes and behaviors
 - (d). Their community and home experiences do not actively teach them that the basic values of democracy apply equally to all citizens.
24. In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its landmark decision; that decision was:
- (a). Bradley v. Milliken
 - (b). Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka
 - (c). Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education
 - (d). Greene v. Board of Education of Kent County
25. Busing, noncontiguous zones, rezoning and gerrymandering were established as legitimate integration tools in:
- (a). Cooper v. Aaron
 - (b). Higgins v. Board of Education of Grand Rapids
 - (c). United States (and Buckeye) v. Board of School Commissioners of the City of Indianapolis
 - (d). Turner v. Warren County Board of Education

Match the following items

- | | |
|--|--|
| 26. "With all deliberate speed" | A. Indianapolis Student Plan |
| 27. "Political and Civil Rights in the U.S." | B. Cultural Ethnic Minority |
| 28. Lent-Kunzman Law | C. Prejudice |
| 29. Bolling v. Sharpe | D. Racial discrimination |
| 30. The Anti-Busing Law | E. De facto |
| 31. "Freedom of choice"
(Affirmative duty of School Boards) | F. Constitutional Suspect |
| 32. "Imposed by law" | G. Brown II |
| 33. "Bell v. School City of Gary" | H. Detroit |
| 34. "Residential segregation" | I. Sexual discrimination |
| 35. Bradley v. School Board | J. Denver |
| 36. Bradley v. Milliken | K. Emerson, Haber & Dorsen |
| 37. Keyes v. School District #1 | L. Green v. School Board of
New Kent County |
| 38. Charlotte-Mecklenberg | M. North Carolina |
| 39. Serrano v. Priest | N. Swann |
| 40. Title VI, Civil Rights Act | O. New York State |
| 41. Title IX Civil Rights Act | P. De jure |
| 42. Title VII | Q. Inequality of School
finances |
| 43. Executive Order 11246 | R. Cultural Racism |
| 44. "Power & Prejudice -- Racism" | S. EEOC |
| 45. "Unfounded opinion or feeling" | T. Restrictive Covenants |
| 46. Ethnocentrism | U. Richmond |
| 47. "Third World" | V. White discrimination |
| 48. Singleton v. Jackson Municipal | W. Affirmative Action |
| 49. "Quest for Human Dignity" | X. Systemwide "Faculty ratio" |
| 50. "Root and Branch" | Y. Indianapolis Student Assign-
ment Plan. |